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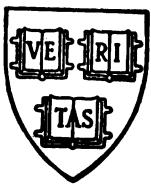
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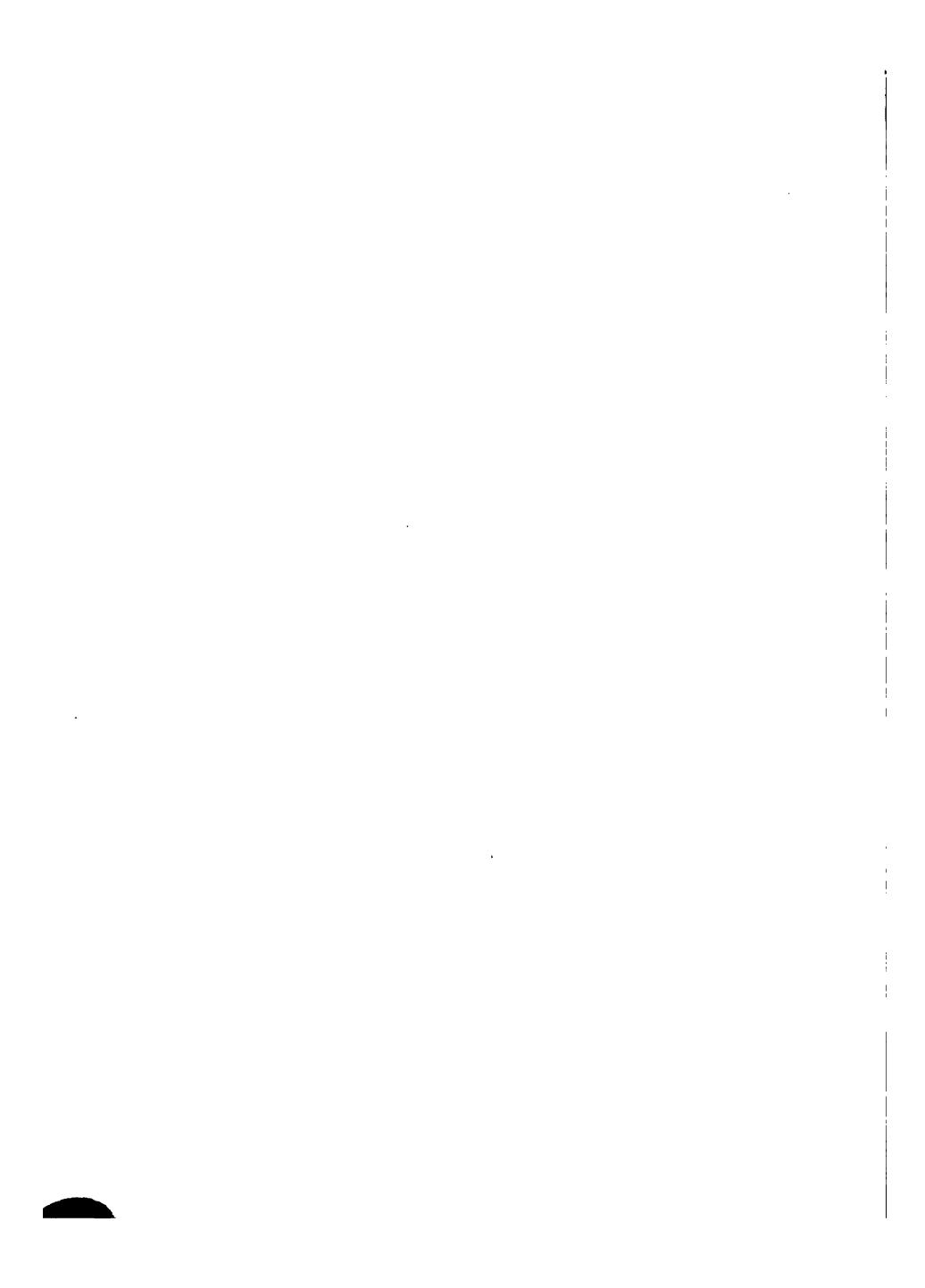
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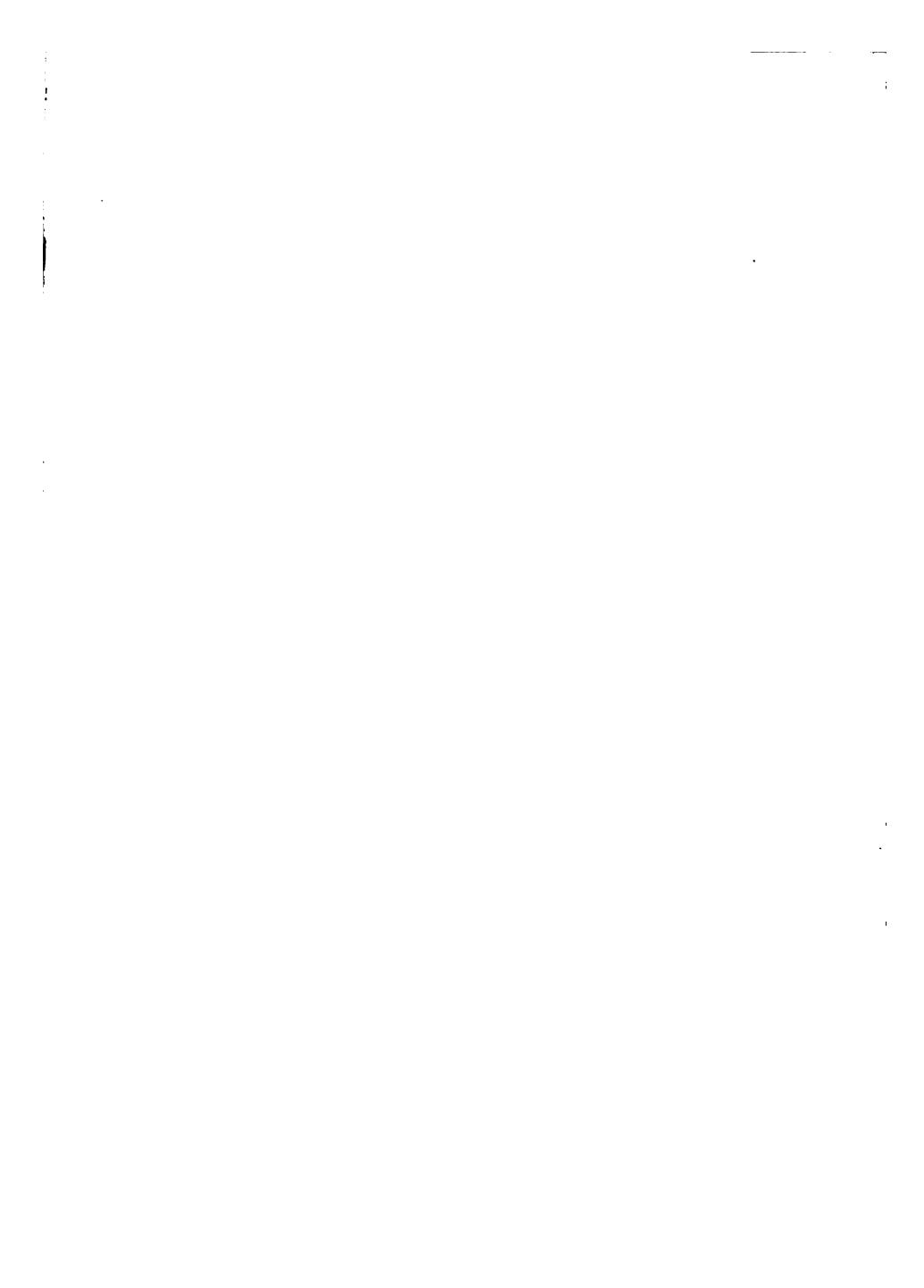
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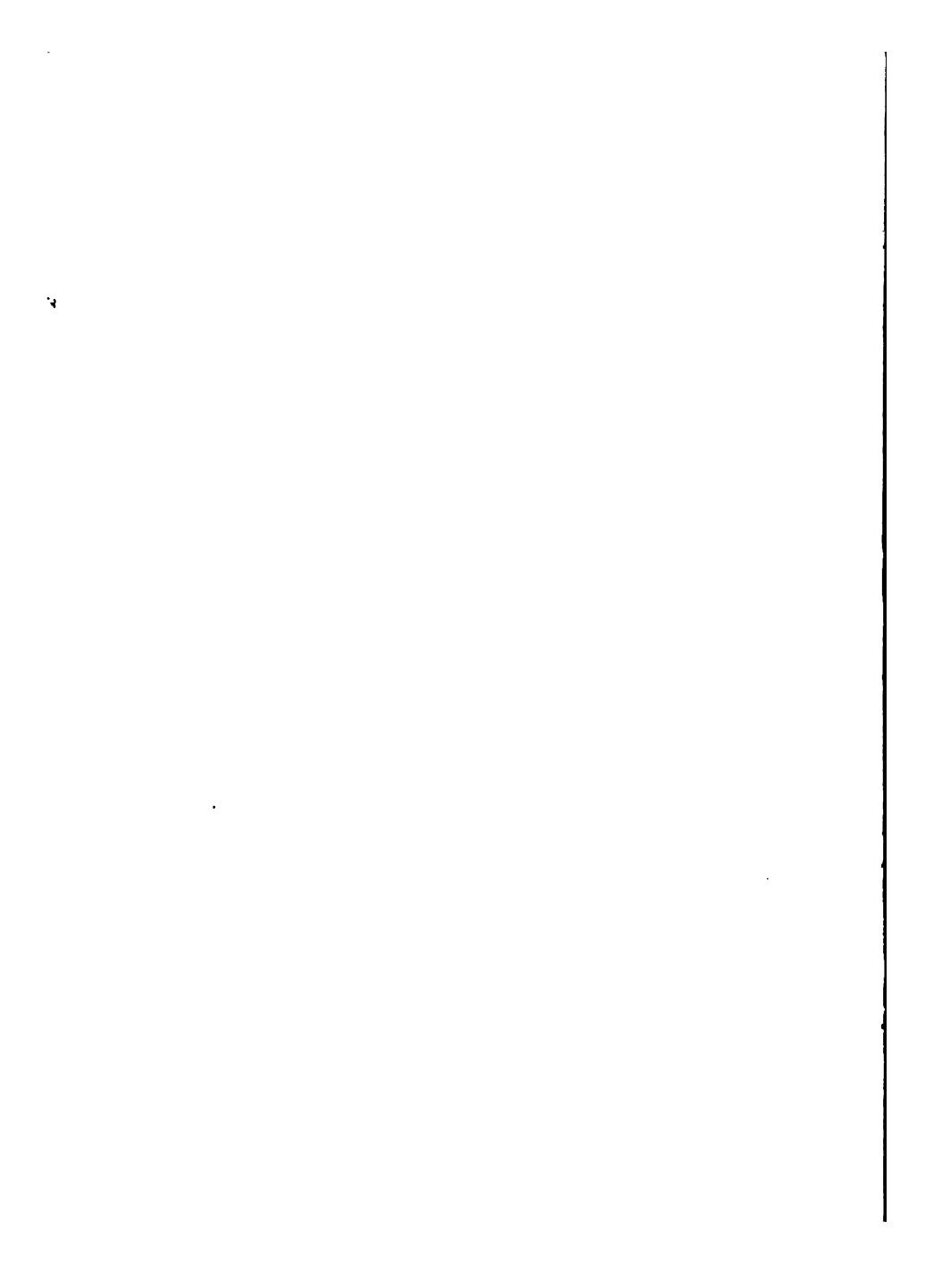


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TACITUS

// DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS //

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDEXES

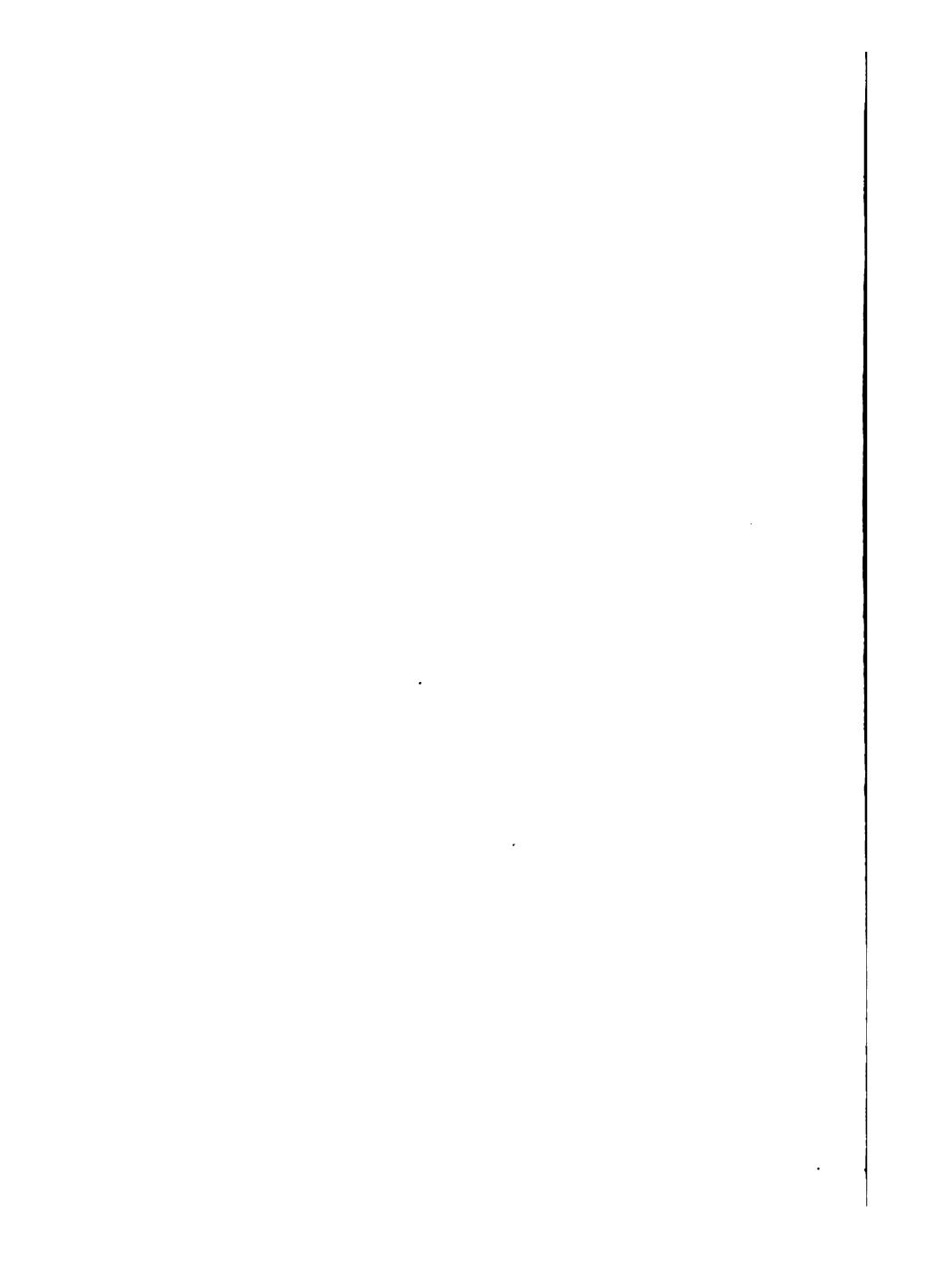
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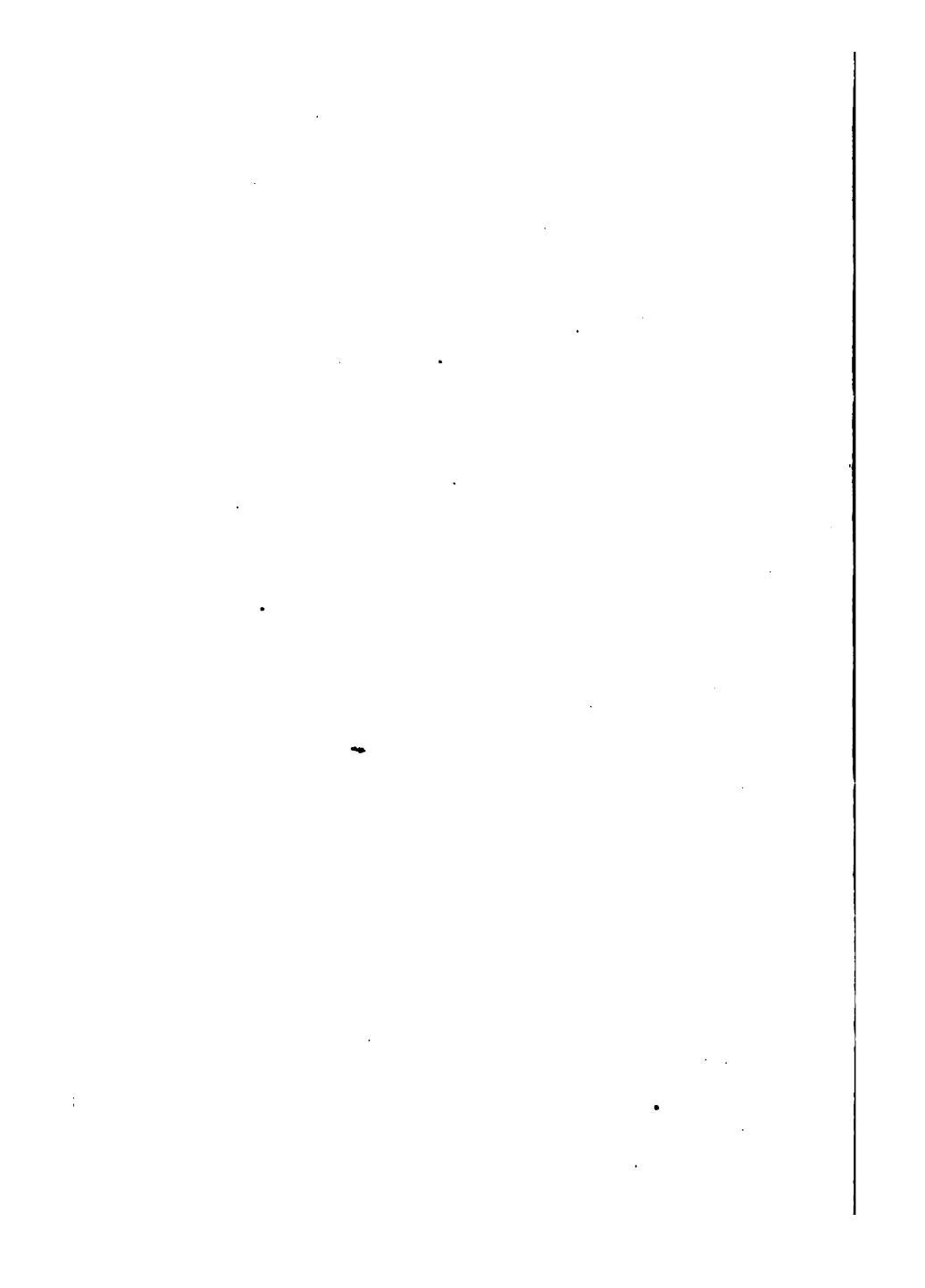
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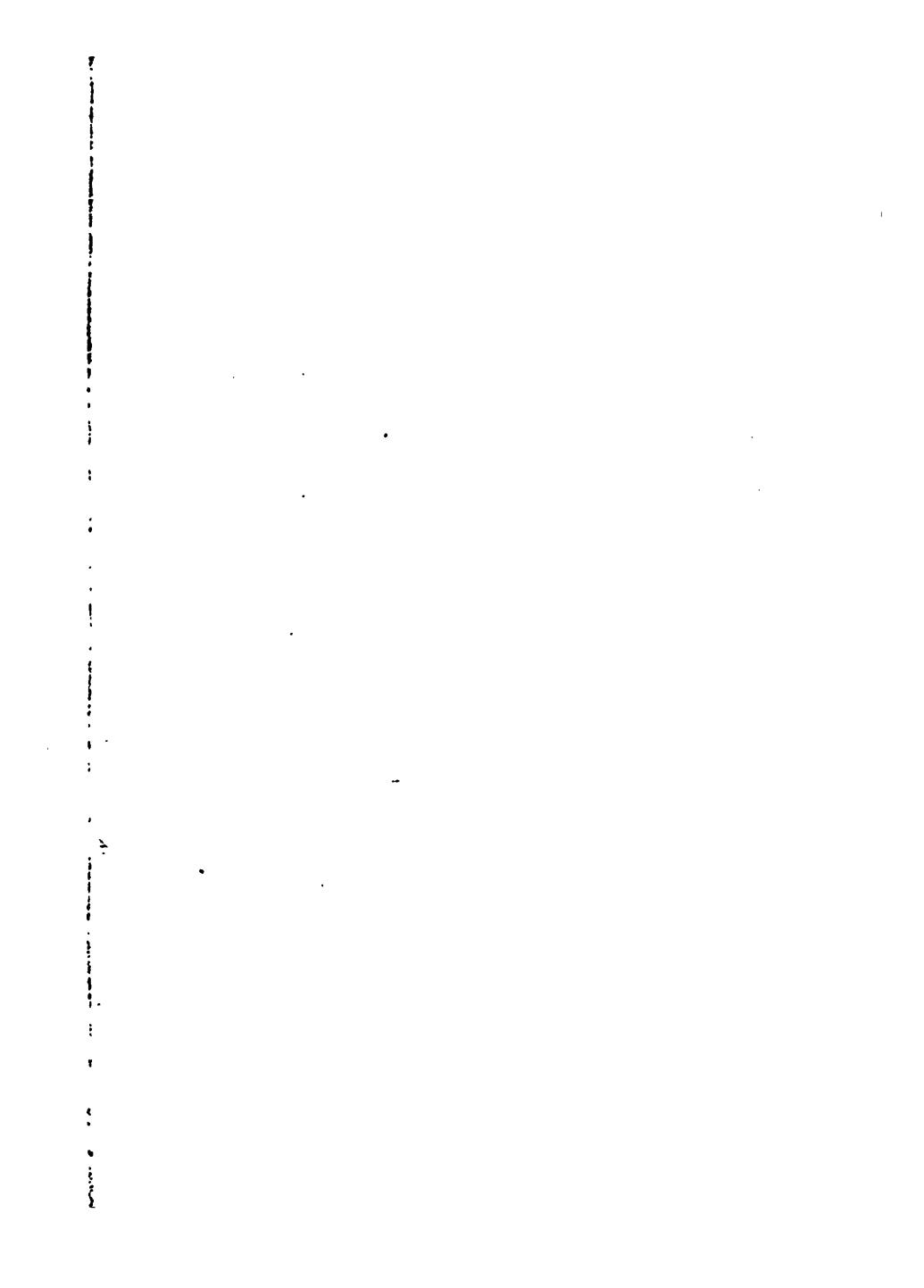
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TACITUS, *DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS*

BENNETT

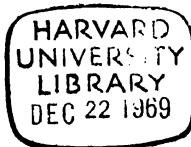
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P R E F A C E.

In 1891 the editors-in-chief of the College Series asked me to prepare for publication the manuscript notes on the *Dialogus* left by the late Professor Lucius Heritage of the University of Wisconsin. I acceded to their request, expecting that my task would consist mainly in clerical revision. An examination of Mr. Heritage's manuscript, however, showed that his edition differed materially in scope from the other books of the series; moreover, since its preparation in 1883-84, the progress of critical study on the *Dialogus* had been unusually rapid. Under these circumstances it seemed necessary to recast the work entirely, and I accordingly did so.

In the execution of this task I have received important help from Professor Alfred Gudeman of the University of Pennsylvania, who generously put at my disposal the exhaustive materials of his forthcoming edition of the *Dialogus*, and who has also assisted me freely in other ways.

To Professor Peck and Professor Smith I am greatly indebted for many valuable suggestions on the matter of the notes and Introduction.

Professor Geo. L. Hendrickson of the University of Wisconsin, and my colleague, Professor H. C. Elmer, have also kindly given me the benefit of their criticism.

C. E. B.

MARCH 26, 1894.

INTRODUCTION.

I. AUTHORSHIP OF THE DIALOGUS.

As compared with the admitted works of Tacitus (the *Agricola*, *Germania*, *Histories*, and *Annals*), the *Dialogus* unquestionably exhibits marked differences of language and style. This circumstance led scholars, as early as the time of Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), to question the manuscript testimony as to the Tacitean authorship of the piece. Rhenanus in spite of his suspicions published the *Dialogus* (1519) under Tacitus's name, but Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), in his edition published at Antwerp in 1574, influenced by certain resemblances to the *Institutio Oratoria*, boldly ascribed the work to Quintilian and published it under the title: *Fabii Quintiliani, ut videtur, Dialogus, Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus.* In his third edition, however, published in 1585, Lipsius confessed his doubts as to the propriety of ascribing the work to Quintilian, maintaining nevertheless as stoutly as ever that Tacitus could not be the author.

Since Lipsius first launched the controversy upon the learned world, over three hundred years ago, the question of the authorship of the *Dialogus* has been an almost constant subject of discussion. Lipsius's immediate successors adopted in general his view as to the non-Tacitean authorship of the piece. Some went further and attributed it to Pliny the Younger, to Maternus, or even to Suetonius; while others adopted Lipsius's earlier view and ascribed the work to Quintilian. Defenders of the Tacitean author-

ship were rare for over two hundred years after Lipsius's third edition. It was not until the beginning of the present century that a decided reaction set in in favor of Tacitus. Since that time the evidence that the *Dialogus* is his work has gradually been more and more fully presented, and more and more generally accepted as valid. Few scholars to-day deny Tacitus's title to the authorship.

The grounds on which the Tacitean authorship rests are as follows :—

1. The MSS. attribute the work to Tacitus. When we consider that the *Dialogus* is found almost exclusively in MSS. which contain the *Germania* also, it will be seen that the weight of this argument is considerable.

2. Although in general the contrast in diction and style between the *Dialogus* and the acknowledged writings of Tacitus is great, yet a careful examination reveals striking evidences of a common authorship, and even enables us to trace the genetic development of Tacitus's style from the *Dialogus* (his earliest work) to the *Annals* (his latest). Thus :—

a. IN DICTION.

1. We find several words and phrases which occur nowhere else in prose writers of this period except in the *Dialogus* and the acknowledged works of Tacitus, e. g. :—

histrionalis (*Dial.* 26. 3; 29. 3; *Ann.* I. 16. 4).

audentius (*Dial.* 18. 2; *Hist.* I. 79. 1; II. 78. 1; *Ann.* IV. 47. 2; 68. 5).

clientulus (*Dial.* 37. 1; *Ann.* XII. 36. 3).

modo . . . nunc, for *modo . . . modo* or *nunc . . . nunc* (*Dial.* 3. 4; *Hist.* II. 51. 1; III. 85. 1).

cura, 'literary production, book' (*Dial.* 6. 7; *Ann.* III. 24. 4; IV. 11. 5).

proeliator (*Dial.* 37. 9; *Ann.* II. 73. 3).

2. A number of words and phrases employed by Tacitus in peculiar meanings are found also in the *Dialogus* with the same meanings, e. g.:—

- auditus*, ‘heard of’ (*Dial.* 7. 5; *Agr.* 43; *Germ.* 37).
anni colliguntur (*Dial.* 17. 3; *Ger.* 37).
donec, ‘as long as’ (*Dial.* 8. 5; *Hist.* I. 13. 5).
exuberare, figuratively (*Dial.* 30. 7; *Ann.* XIV. 53. 6).
ingenium, ‘man of genius’ (*Dial.* 2. 1; *Hist.* I. 1. 1).
mereri, ‘win, acquire’ (*Dial.* 9. 9; *Hist.* II. 31. 1).
quandoque = *quandocumque* (*Dial.* 13. 7; *Ann.* I. 6. 2).
quatenus, ‘since’ (*Dial.* 5. 3; *Ann.* III. 16. 5).
sicut . . . ita, for *ut . . . ita* (*Dial.* 6. 7; *Agr.* 2).
tamquam = *quod* (*Dial.* 2. 1; *Ann.* XII. 39. 4).
ut sic dixerim, = *ut ita dicam* (*Dial.* 40. 5; *Ann.* XIV. 53. 4).

3. Many favorite words of Tacitus — particularly words of a poetic coloring — occur also in the *Dialogus*, e. g.:—
accinctus, *adfluenſ*, *claresco*, *contactus*, *incalcesco*, *incitamentum*,
inconditus, *increpo*, *innotesco*, *instinctus*, *nobilitatus*, *oblectamen-*
tum, *obtrectatio*, *praeſterus*, *pravitates*, *proceres*, *vanesco*.

4. Many phrases characteristic of Tacitus occur also in the *Dialogus*, e. g.:—

<i>ardor iuvenilis</i>	<i>et ipse</i>
<i>aurum et gemmae</i>	<i>exactus dies</i> (= <i>confectus dies</i>)
<i>caementum et tegulae</i>	<i>famam circumdare</i>
<i>gratia subnixus</i>	<i>inauditus et indefensus</i>
<i>in ore vulgi (hominum) agere</i>	<i>meditata oratio</i>
<i>in confesso est, in aperto est</i> , etc.	<i>et nullus, for nec ullus</i>
<i>comitatus et egressus</i>	<i>rudis et informis</i>

b. IN SYNTAX we find many points of resemblance. Thus the following constructions are characteristic both of the *Dialogus* and the undisputed works of Tacitus :—

1. Indicative :—

- 1) *Postquam* with the pluperfect indicative.
- 2) *Sunt qui* with the indicative.
- 3) *Dum* with the present indicative in indirect discourse.

2. Subjunctive :—

- 1) *Quamvis* with the subjunctive to denote a fact.
- 2) A subjunctive *dum*-clause subordinated to a subjunctive *cum*-clause.
- 3) A subjunctive *si*-clause subordinated to a future participle.

3. Infinitive :—

As subject of *datur*, *dabatur*, etc.

4. Participles :—

- 1) The extremely free use of the present active participle as a noun of agency. See p. xx.
- 2) The future active participle equivalent to a subordinate clause. See p. xxi.
- 3) Idiomatic use of the gerundive in expressions of the type *haec spectanda habemus*, 'we have these things to behold.'

5. The Cases :—

- 1) Frequent use of the dative of agency with passive verbs.
- 2) Accusative with *inrumpo*.
- 3) The phrase *pensi habere*.
- 4) *In quantum*, *in tantum* for *quantum*, *tantum*.

6. Particles :—

- 1) *Igitur* regularly at the beginning of the sentence.
- 2) *Quin immo* post-positive.
- 3) *Quo minus* freely used instead of *quin* after negative expressions.

- 4) *Neque* used instead of *ne*, *nere* to introduce the optative and hortatory subjunctive.
- 5) *Que* used epexegetically, — a rare idiom.

c. IN STYLE the following points of agreement are to be noted :—

- 1) Free use of the plural of abstract nouns. For examples see p. xix.
 - 2) Fondness for alliteration. See p. xxii.
 - 3) Fondness for the figurative use of military terms.
 - 4) Frequent use of anaphora. See p. xxiii.
 - 5) Fondness for grouping synonymous words and expressions. See p. xxii.
3. The subject matter of the *Dialogus* reveals also the same intellectual and moral attitude on the part of the writer as the recognized works of Tacitus. Thus :—

a. We find frequent epigrammatic characterizations of human nature, e. g.:— 8. 7 *divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui rituperet quam qui fastidiat*; 18. 4 *vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, præsentia in fastidio esse*. With these compare *Agr.* 42 *proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris*; *Hist.* I. 55 *insita mortalibus natura, propere sequi quae piget incohare*.

b. In *Dial.* 12. 4 we have the following picture of the social conditions of primitive society : *felix illud et aureum saeculum et oratorum inops poëtis et ratibus abundabat, qui bene facta cancerent, non qui male admissa defenserent*. With this compare *Ann.* III. 26 *vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro scelere, coque sine poena aut coercionibus agebant*. *Neque præmiis opus erat, cum honesta suopla ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum retabantur*.

c. In *Dial.* 28-30 the writer touches upon the important part formerly played by the mother in the training of children, and with this decaying custom contrasts the existing conditions by which children were often handed over to nurses and worthless servants : 28. 5 *non in cella emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur*; 29. 1 *at nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus.* With these passages compare the following, where the similarity of language as well as of thought is particularly striking : *Agr.* 4 *mater Julia Procula fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit; Ger.* 20 *sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutribus delegantur.*

d. The characterizations of public men in the *Dialogus* agree with the characterizations of the same men as found in the *Histories* and *Annals*. Thus in *Dial.* 5. 7 Eprius Marcellus is *accinctus et minax*; in *Ann.* XVI. 29 *tortus ac minax*; *Hist.* IV. 43 *minacibus oculis.* So also like judgments are expressed concerning Vatinius in *Dial.* 11 and *Ann.* XV. 34; concerning Pomponius Secundus in *Dial.* 13. 4 and *Ann.* XII. 28; concerning Vipstanus Messalla in *Dial.* 15 and *Hist.* IV. 42; while the full account given in *Hist.* IV. 43 of the conflict in the Senate between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus reads like an amplification of the allusion to the same event found in *Dial.* 5.

e. It is a striking peculiarity of the *Dialogus* and *Annals* that they both reckon the beginning of Augustus's reign from his first consulship in 43 B.C., and not from the battle of Actium, or from his assumption of the title Augustus, as do other writers.

The above evidence may be briefly summarized as follows : The MSS. are unanimous in ascribing the work to Tacitus ; a comparison of diction, syntax, and style shows a number of striking resemblances that can hardly be fortuitous ; while the general point of view of the writer of the *Dialogus* and of the works admitted to have been written by Tacitus, is the same. Moreover, nothing inconsistent with the Tacitean authorship of the *Dialogus* can be advanced beyond the discrepancy of style. Both the dramatic date of the dialogue itself and the probable date of composition and publication tally perfectly with what we know of Tacitus. Under these circumstances we may safely accept the view that Tacitus was the author.

As regards the difference in style between the *Dialogus* and Tacitus's later works we must consider not only the difference in subject matter, but also the difference in time of composition. The most probable date for the composition and publication of the *Dialogus* is 81 A.D. From then until the publication of the *Annals* in 115-117 A.D. was a period of over thirty years. Between the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* (98 A.D.) seventeen years elapsed. Moreover the period intervening between the composition of the two works was occupied by the reign of Domitian, the baneful character of which had made the deepest impression upon Tacitus. Cf. *Agr.* i f. Under these circumstances, and after so great a lapse of time, his style may well have taken on a different character. Nor are such differences without parallel in other writers. A similar development is noticeable in Carlyle, and the difference between his *Life of Schiller* and his *Frederick the Great* has been aptly compared with that between the *Dialogus* and the *Annals*.

II. DRAMATIC DATE OF THE DIALOGUE.

The time when the dialogue is represented as taking place, was the latter half of 74 or the first half of 75 A.D. This we gather from 17. 3, where one of the speakers refers to the *sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam foret*, i.e., the sixth year of Vespasian's happy reign. Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria upon the 1st of July, 69 A.D. Hence the sixth year of his reign would fall between July 1, 74 and July 1, 75. This accords also with the epithet which Tacitus applies to himself at the time of the dialogue, *iuvensis admodum* (1. 1). This expression in contemporary writers designates an age somewhere in the vicinity of twenty, varying from the eighteenth to the twenty-third year, which agrees perfectly with the age of Tacitus at the time of the dialogue. For he was probably born in 55 or 56 A.D., and would accordingly have been eighteen at the youngest, at the oldest not more than twenty. Further confirmation of the date of the discussion is found in the reference in chapter 37 of the *Dialogus* to Mucianus, the well-known supporter of Vespasian, who is mentioned as actively engaged in collecting materials for an historical work which he had projected. But Mucianus was probably no longer alive in 77, so that the discussion must have taken place before that date.

III. DATE OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION.

It is more difficult to determine when the *Dialogus* was composed and published. From the reference of the author to himself as *iuvensis admodum* at the time of the discussion, it is quite evident that some little time must have elapsed between the discussion itself and the composition of the piece. If we assume publication to have followed com-

position immediately, we can hardly place the composition after 81 A.D., the beginning of Domitian's reign, since the contents of the work make it extremely doubtful whether its author would have ventured upon publication under that emperor. The close of Domitian's reign, 96 A.D., would, on the other hand, be out of the question, as it assumes the extraordinary interval of twenty-one or twenty-two years between the discussion and the composition. Moreover it brings the *Dialogus* within two years of the *Agricola* (98 A.D.), and makes it impossible to account for the striking difference of style between these two productions. It therefore seems best to refer the composition of the *Dialogus* to the closing year of Titus's reign, 81 A.D., seven years after the date of the discussion which it records. It has been objected that this interval does not justify the use of the expression *iuvenis admodum* as applied by the author to himself in chapter 1. But if Tacitus was eighteen at the time of the discussion, he was twenty-five when he wrote the *Dialogus*. Moreover the intervening period had been an eventful one for him. He had held various public offices, and in 78 A.D. he had married the daughter of Agricola. It is easy to understand, therefore, that the maturity he had acquired in the interim thoroughly justified him in referring to himself seven years previously as *iuvenis admodum*.

IV. THE INTERLOCUTORS.

The participants in the discussion are four in number, Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, Vipstanus Messalla, and Curiatius Maternus. The scene is laid at the house of Maternus.

MARCUS APER was born in Gaul (cf. 10. 3 *ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar*), but had early come to Rome. Here he devoted himself zealously to the study of eloquence, and

acquired fame as an orator and advocate, rising successively to the offices of quaestor, tribune, and praetor. In the *Dialogus* he appears in a double rôle. Against Maternus he defends the attractions of his chosen profession as compared with those of poetry, while against Messalla he defends the claims of contemporary oratory as compared with that of earlier days. In style he is represented as bold, enthusiastic, prone to exaggeration, and inclined to rely upon his natural endowments rather than upon profundity of learning. Occasionally he stoops to sophistry, as in his remarks upon the meaning of the term *antiquus* in ch. 16 ff. In a word he represents the practical and useful, his general attitude being well embodied in his own language (5. 5), *ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt.*

JULIUS SECUNDUS, like Aper, was born in Gaul, and like him had come to Rome and devoted himself to oratory. In other respects the two men present the strongest contrast. Secundus was modest and retiring ; he lacked Aper's aggressiveness, and apparently never held public office. As a speaker he was deficient in fire and spontaneity, and was distinguished rather for the purity of his diction and the polish of his style. Hence many criticised him as lacking in *promptus sermo* (2. 3), and even his friend Quintilian, who speaks of him as *mirae facundiae virum*, nevertheless expresses regret that he was not *multo magis pugnax*. Secundus's forte evidently was composition rather than delivery. Hence he had naturally devoted himself to historical writing, and had already won favorable comment for his *Life of Julius Africanus* (14. 5). Quite consistent too with this is the tone of chapters 36–40. 1, which are best referred to Secundus. This entire passage, with its historical detail and references to sources, exactly fits the character of the historian Secundus.

VIPSTANUS MESSALLA was a born Roman and a descendant of one of Rome's most illustrious families. He was soldier, historian, and orator, winning his greatest successes in the last-named field. His general position was one of admiration for the past. He laments the prevailing negligence on the part of parents in the education of the young, has no sympathy with the schools of rhetoric, in which the orator now gets his training for a forensic career, and deplores the decline of taste, simplicity, and purity of style, which have affected contemporary oratory.

CURIATIUS MATERNUS was also probably a Gaul by birth and, like his countrymen, Aper and Secundus, had first devoted himself to a forensic career. With this pursuit he had combined poetry, and had already written several tragedies and historical dramas at the time when the dialogue is represented as taking place. The immediate cause of the discussion is Maternus's announcement of his resolve to abandon the forum and henceforth devote his attention to the Muses. It is therefore as poet and idealist that Maternus participates in the discussion. He is the counterpart of Aper. Wealth and influence have no charms for him. His choice is rather the *nemora et luci et secretum* (12. 1), the *felix contubernium* of the Muses (13. 1).

THE SPEAKER IN CHAPTERS 36-40. 1. A difficulty exists in distributing chapters 36-41. Some critics assign the entire passage to Maternus; others put chapters 36-40. 1 in the mouth of Secundus, assuming a lacuna before the words *non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur* in 40. 2, and allow Maternus's closing remarks to begin at that point. This latter view is plausible for two reasons:—

1. If we assign the entire passage from chapter 36 to the end of chapter 41 to Maternus, we meet with numerous irrelevant repetitions and inconsistencies. Thus if we attribute the

language in 37. 9 f. *plures tamen honos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt.* Similis eloquentiae condicio to Maternus, it is surprising to find the same speaker in 40. 7 repeating substantially the same idea in a weakened form : *tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, etc.* So also 41. 6 *quid (opus est) voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et parce peccetur?* 41. 5 *quid multis apud populum contionibus?* can hardly have been spoken by the same person as *iam vero contiones adsuiae et datum ius potentissimum quemque texandi atque ipsa inimicitarum gloria,* in 40. 1. But if we attribute the latter passage to Secundus, and regard the former as Maternus's rejoinder, all difficulty disappears.

Again, if we attribute chapters 36 ff. to Maternus, we find him giving utterance to sentiments at variance with those previously expressed by him in the course of the discussion. Thus the enthusiastic allusion to the influence of the earlier orators in 36. 5, *hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos iluri in provincias magistratus reverbantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et practurac et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur,* is inconsistent with the contempt of such honors expressed in 13. 2, *licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus exixerint.*

2. Furthermore chapters 36-40. 1 accord excellently with the character of Secundus as historian and antiquarian, in which he appears in the discussion. The chapters in question are in the nature of an historical résumé of the development and course of oratory at Rome.

We shall therefore do best to recognize Secundus as the speaker in all that follows the lacuna at the beginning of chapter 36 as far as 40. 1 *quas oratoribus facies admovebant.* At this point we must assume a second lacuna and assign to Maternus the passage from 40. 2 (*non de otiosa etc.*) to the close of 41.

V. SYNTAX AND STYLE OF THE DIALOGUS. •

A. SYNTAX.

1. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

a. Fondness for the plural of abstract nouns, e. g.: 6. 5 *comitatus et egressus*; 6. 6 *gaudia*; 10. 5 *lascivias, lusus*; 10. 11 *adsensus*; 28. 8 *educationibus*; 28. 9 *pravitatibus*.

b. Certain unusual comparative and superlative forms of adjectives and participles are found, e. g.: 5. 2 *absolutissimus*; 8. 4 *sordidius et abjectus*; 18. 2 *audientius*; 18. 3 *distinctior*; 19. 3 *impeditissimorum*.

c. The author shows a partiality for the phrases *unus aut alter*, *unus et alter*, used of a small indefinite number, e. g.: 9. 6 *unus aut alter*; 21. 3 *unus et alter*.

d. The Cases.

1) The construction of the genitive with adjectives extends somewhat beyond the limits of earlier prose usage, e. g.: 13. 7 *incertus futuri*; 8. 6 *patientissimus veri*.

2) The poetic construction of the ablative of place occurs in 13. 8 *statuar tumulo*; 21. 14 *exsurgit toris*.

2. THE VERB.

a. Characteristic of the *Dialogus* is the employment of the simple verb for the compound, e. g.: 17. 4 *pellere* for *depellere*; 19. 1 *flexisse* for *deflexisse*; 30. 8 *cluditur* for *includitur*; 38. 1 *finiebatur* for *definiebatur*.

b. So also sometimes the employment of compound verbs for simple ones, e. g.: 6. 5 *consurgendi* for *surgendi*; 22. 7 *determinet* for *terminet*; 38. 4 *depacaverat* for *pacaverat*.

c. Forms of *esse* are omitted with some freedom,—sometimes even where the verb, if expressed, would stand in the

subjunctive, *e. g.*: 31. 4 *qui scit quid ira (sc. sit)*; 18. 4 *nec quaero quis disertissimus (sc. fuerit)*.

d. The Indicative.

1) *Postquam* with the pluperfect indicative occurs in 22. 3 *postquam profecerat*; 38. 4 *postquam deparcerat*.

2) *Dum* with the indicative in subordinate clauses of indirect discourse occurs in 32. 11 *certum habeo dicturos me, dum laudo, meis inceptis plausisse*.

3) *Sunt qui* with the indicative occurs in 31. 6 *sunt apud quos plus fidei meretur*.

e. The Subjunctive.

1) *Quamquam* with the subjunctive is the rule, (*e. g.*: 15. 3; 21. 13), though the indicative also occurs.

2) *Quamvis* with the subjunctive, denoting a fact, occurs, *e. g.* in 2. 3 *quamvis opinarentur*.

3) The subjunctive of indefinite frequency occurs, *e. g.* in 19. 3 *si dicendo quis diem eximeret*.

f. The Infinitive.

Quite characteristic of the *Dialogus* is the use of the infinitive depending upon an adjective, *e. g.*: 10. 8 *obnoxium offendere*; 16. 4. *manifestus est accingi*, 'is manifestly girding himself up'; 18. 4 *probasse contentus*; 23. 2 *significasse contentus*; 26. 10 *detrectasse contentus*. This is a poetical construction introduced into prose by post-Augustan writers.

g. Participles.

1) Characteristic of the *Dialogus* — as of Tacitus in general — is the extremely free use of participles as nouns of agency, *e. g.*: 6. 6 *orantibus* (= *oratoribus*); 28. 2 *inscientia praeccipientium* (= *praeceptorum*); 30. 8 *cum voluptate audientium* (= *auditorum*); 41. 4 *in obsequium regentis* (= *regis*); 41. 6 *clementia cognoscentis* (= *judicis*).

2) The future active participle is frequently equivalent to a relative clause, e. g.: 9. 7 *mansurum in animo beneficium*, 'a favor which will remain'; 22. 5 *paries duraturus*; 34. 6 *duraturam eloquentiae famam*. Sometimes the participle is accompanied by *tamquam*, e. g.: 2. 5 *tamquam gloriam habiturus*.

3) Characteristically Tacitean is the combination of the gerundive and gerund with *habeo* in phrases of the type *exempla quae spectanda haberemus*, 'examples which we should have to contemplate'; so also 19. 6 *exspectandum habent*; 31. 5 *dicendum habuerit*; 37. 4 *dicendum habeas*; 36. 7 *respondendum haberent*.

3. PARTICLES.

a. Prepositions.

1) *Circa* in the sense of 'in regard to, about, concerning, upon' occurs in 3. 4 *omne tempus circa Medeam consumas*; 22. 4 *otiosus circa excessus*; 28. 4 *circa educandos liberos pauca praedixerо*.

2) *Citra = sine* is found 27. 2 *citra damnum adfectus*; 41. 8 *citra obtrectationem alterius*.

b. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

1) *Donec*, 'as long as,' occurs 8. 5 *donec libuit*; 40. 6 *donec erravit*.

2) *Igitur* almost invariably stands at the beginning of the sentence, e. g.: 3. 1.

3) *Neque (nec)* for *nē*, *ne... (neu)* is frequent in expressions of wishing and commanding, e. g.: 13. 7 *nec scribam*; 22. 7 *nec determinet*.

4) *Quatenus = quoniam* occurs 5. 3 *quatenus non inveni*; 19. 1 *quatenus solent*.

5) *Quin immo* is occasionally post-positive, e. g.: 6. 3 *ipsos quin immo*; 34. 6 *inde quin immo*; 39. 4 *ipsam quin immo*.

6) *Tamquam* for *quod* occurs, introducing the reason of some one else than the writer, e.g.: 2. 1 *tamquam cogitasset*.

4. MISCELLANEOUS.

The transposition of nomen and cognomen (when the praenomen is omitted) occurs repeatedly, e.g.: 1. 1 *Iuste Fabi* (for *Fabi Iuste*) ; 8. 1 *Marcellum Eprium, Crispum Vibium*.

II. STYLE.

1. REDUNDANCY. Especially characteristic of the *Dialogus* is a certain fullness of expression. Tacitus at this first stage of his literary career was much under the influence of Cicero's style, and like Cicero is fond of dwelling upon a thought, of amplifying and repeating in other words what he has just said. Thus :

a. 6. 4 *ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae*; 7. 4 *vulgaris imperitum et tunicatus hic populus*; 8. 8 *causis forensibus et oratorio studio*; 11. 1 *detectaret poetas et carminum studium prosterneret*.

b. A special and very frequent form of this redundancy is the grouping of synonyms in pairs. Thus :

1) Nouns, e.g.: 7. 5 *adrenae et peregrini*; 8. 7 *divitiae et opes*; 28. 7 *studia curasque*; 40. 6 *dissensiones et discordiae*.

2) Adjectives, e.g.: 5. 7 *inxercitatus et rufus*; 23. 4 *lactus et alacer*; 29. 2 *virides et teneri*.

3) Verbs, e.g.: 15. 1 *inridere atque contemnere*; 17. 6 *coniungere et copulare*; 26. 11 *fracta et deminuta*.

c. Sometimes the expression is absolutely pleonastic, e.g.: 18. 2 *ante praedixero*; 28. 4 *prius praedixero*.

2. ALLITERATION. This is also particularly frequent in the *Dialogus*, as in all the writings of Tacitus. Some of Tacitus's contemporaries, on the other hand, e.g. Quintilian,

avoid alliteration altogether. Examples in the *Dialogus* are : 2. 4 *purus et pressus et . . . profluxus*; 4. 3 *satis superque sudatum est*; 11. 3 *nobis notitiae ac nominis*; 17. 6 *coniungere et copulare*; 26. 3 *lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis*; 28. 8 *praefuisse . . . ac produxisse principes*; 31. 3 *rim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum*; 32. 5 *praecepta prudentium penitus*.

3. ANAPHORA. This figure, while common to all forcible writing, is especially affected by Tacitus in the *Dialogus*, as in all his works. Examples are : 12. 2 *haec—haec—hoc—sic*; 23. 6 *ita—ea—is—ea—ca—is—ea—sic*; 38. 2 *omnia—omnia—omnia*; 40. 5 f. *omnia—omnia—omnia—omnes—donec—donec—donec—nulla—nulla—nulla—nulla—nullus*.

4. INDEBTEDNESS TO CICERO. Tacitus's obligations to Cicero — particularly to the *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, and *Orator* — are apparent throughout the *Dialogus*. Not only the general form of the piece, but numerous details of diction and phraseology reveal how closely the *Dialogus* imitates Ciceronian models. The following examples, to which many more might easily be added, will serve to illustrate the nature and extent of this indebtedness :

a. Correspondence in dramatic details. Thus :

1) The *Dialogus* purports to give an account of a discussion of eminent orators. Cf. *Dial.* I. 4 *quae e viris praestantissimis excoxitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excepti* with *de Or.* I. 4 *quae viri omnium eloquentissimi clarissimum senserint*.

2) The author professes in his reproduction to observe the characteristic peculiarities of the individual speakers. Cf. *Dial.* I. 4 with *de Or.* III. 16.

3) In *Dial.* 14 the discussion is momentarily interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Messalla; so *de Or.* II. 14 by the entrance of Catulus. In both

instances the new-comers express a fear of intruding :
Dial. : *num parum tempestivus inveni?* *de Or.* : *nisi forte molesti intervenimus.*

4) One interlocutor speaks for two. Cf. *Dial.* 16.
 3 *pro duobus promitto*, with *de Or.* II. 27 *pro utroque respondeo*. In both passages we have further the phrase *si ante (nisi prius) a vobis impetravero*.

5) In *de Or.* I. 111 Crassus modestly refers to his contribution to the discussion as *ineptiae*; so Messalla in *Dial.* 32. 11.

b. Similar thoughts expressed in similar language :

CICERO.

de Or. I. 53 *qua re nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas quibus mentes aut incitan- tur aut reflectuntur penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.*

de Or. I. 64 *is erit orator mea sententia, hoc tam gravi dignus nomine, qui, quaecumque res inciderit quae sit dilectione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet.*

Brut. 293 *equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam.*

Brut. 96 *summos honores sine ulla commendatione maiorum est adeptus.*

DIALOGUS.

31. 3 *de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit natu- ram humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum.*

Dial. 30. 8 *sed is erit orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum ad utilitatem temporum cum voluptate audientium possit.*

Dial. 21. 1 *equidem fate- bor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum tenere.*

Dial. 8. 5 *sine commenda- tione natalium potentissimi sunt.*

c. Instances of similar or identical phrases :

subitus et fortuitus, *de Or.* I. 150; *Dial.* 10. 10.

ingenium alunt, *Brut.* 126; *Dial.* 14. 4.

redolent antiquitatem, *Brut.* 82; *Dial.* 21. 8.

humilis et abiectus, *Or.* 192; *Dial.* 36. 1.

accuratus et meditatus, *de Or.* I. 257; *Dial.* 6. 7.

tueri et defendere, *de Or.* I. 172; *Dial.* 7. 1.

a Cotta et Sulpicio hacce omnis fluxit oratio, *Brut.* 201; *inde enim omnis fluxit oratio*, *Dial.* 9. 1.

5. RELATION TO QUINTILIAN. It is not positively known that Tacitus was ever a pupil of Quintilian; yet this is extremely probable. At all events the clearest evidences exist in the *Dialogus* of the influence of Quintilian over the youthful author. Many rhetorical terms are common to Quintilian and the *Dialogus*, while the same general point of view, and often the same judgments upon men and things appear in both writers. This makes it almost certain that, if Tacitus was not, like his intimate friend the younger Pliny, an actual pupil of Quintilian, he was at least a member of the same literary circle. Direct indebtedness to Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* is out of the question, as that work was not published till after the *Dialogus*.

VI. OUTLINE OF THE DIALOGUS.

INTRODUCTORY (1-2). In response to the repeated inquiries of Fabius Justus as to the causes of the decline of eloquence, Tacitus undertakes to give an account of a discussion on this subject at which he had been a listener some years before. The disputants at the outset were Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus; the discussion took place at the house of Maternus.

OPENING OF THE DISCUSSION (3-5). Aper opens the discussion by arraigning Maternus for his devotion to poetry

and his consequent neglect of oratory. Maternus replying proposes that Secundus act as judge upon the relative merits of poetry and eloquence. The latter declines.

APER'S DEFENSE OF ORATORY AND ARRAIGNMENT OF POETRY (5-10). Aper nevertheless declares that he will not hesitate to condemn Maternus's neglect of oratory, and thereupon proceeds to expand upon the attractions of this profession. Nothing, he declares, is more useful, nothing more delightful, nothing more glorious than the career of the orator. In proof of this he refers to his own forensic triumphs, and points to the fame, the wealth, and the power of Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus, men high in the favor and counsels of the Emperor. Poetry, on the other hand, brings no positive advantage, its triumphs afford merely a passing pleasure, while the fame of even the greatest poet is much inferior to that of a gifted orator. Aper closes with an exhortation to Maternus to abandon poetry and devote himself to oratory, his earlier profession.

MATERNUS'S DEFENSE OF POETRY (11-13). Maternus praises the retirement and tranquillity of the woods and groves, the favorite haunt of poets, as compared with the din and distractions of the city. He refers to the dignity and glory always accorded poets in the past, and compares Homer with Demosthenes, Vergil with Cicero. Let others, he exclaims, enjoy the struggles, and win the triumphs of the forum. As for himself he prefers the companionship of the Muses.

ENTRANCE OF MESSALLA (14-16). Messalla arrives, and as he enters expresses regret at not having heard the previous discussion. Replying to a remark of Aper's he declares it as his opinion that the age of real orators is past. Asked by the others to give the reasons for this, he is about to proceed when Aper interrupts him.

APER'S DIGRESSION (16-23). Aper first enters upon a sophistical argument as to the meaning of the word *antiquus*. He maintains that the term cannot properly be applied to Cicero and his contemporaries; for they are separated from the present by less than the limit of a human life. The real *antiqui oratores* are Appius, Claudio, Cato, Carbo, Galba, and the Gracchi. Cicero and his contemporaries belong rather to an intermediate era,—if anything, nearer the present than the past. Moreover the character of oratory varies with the times, and no single type is to be summarily condemned simply because it differs from another. Men always idealize the past, and underestimate the present. The new oratory really marks a great advance upon what preceded. It is brilliant and elaborate in style, whereas the earlier orators were dry and tedious. An audience of to-day, declares Aper, would no longer tolerate such speakers. People now want something ornate and striking,—something to remember and talk about. Calvus, Brutus, Asinius, and Corvinus were all faulty, and even Cicero, praised though he is by some, is worthy of admiration only in his latest speeches.

MESSALLA'S EXPLANATION OF THE DECLINE OF ORATORY (24-35). Messalla, urged by Maternus to fulfill the promise already given (in chapter 16), first defends the orators of the Ciceronian era against the attacks of Aper, maintaining that all were worthy of praise, each in his way. Contemporary oratory, on the other hand, he asserts, descends to meretricious devices, and is unworthy of respect. Reminded again by Maternus that he had promised to set forth the causes of the decline of eloquence, Messalla declares that they are really very obvious. According to his view the prime cause is neglect in the training of the young. Formerly the mother superintended personally the education of her sons. Now these are given over to slaves and nurses.

In earlier days too it used to be the custom for a young man preparing for the oratorical profession to attach himself to some jurist or advocate, to follow him day by day, in court and before the people, and thus learn his profession by practical experience. To-day, complains Messalla, it is the fashion to declaim *suasoriae* and *controversiae* in the school of some *rhetor*, — with results that are too well known to require further comment. (The speech breaks off in a lacuna.)

SECUNDUS'S SPEECH (36-40. 1). — The first part of the speech is lost in the lacuna). Secundus gives an historical review of the causes leading to the development of oratory at Rome, *viz.* the strife of parties and the general political restlessness which agitated the state. Oratory was favored too by the mode of procedure in the courts. Liberal time used to be afforded for speaking, and the number of counsel was not limited, whereas to-day every sort of restriction and impediment confronts the advocate. (The speech breaks off in a lacuna.)

MATERNUS'S CLOSING SPEECH (40. 2 to end). — The first part is lost. Referring to Secundus's last remarks, Maternus shows from them that eloquence is the child of discord, turbulence, and violence, that its existence is consequently an index of unsettled political conditions and defective government. Why, therefore, should we deplore its decadence? Let us enjoy the advantages of our own time, and not regret the lack of what we do not need.

P. CORNELII TACITI
DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS.

Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora 1
saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingenii gloriaque
floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude
eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat.
Neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem 2
temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et
quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percon- 3
tationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis
pondus excipere, ut aut de ingenii nostris male existi-
mandum sit, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de
iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mea mihi

1. **Iuste Fabi:** a friend of the younger Pliny (*E.p.* I. 5. 8; 11), as well as of Tacitus. Nothing else is known concerning him. Possibly he is the L. Fabius Justus who was *consul suffectus* 102 A.D. Writers of the Silver Age frequently transpose the *nomen* and *cognomen*, as here, but only when the *praenomen* is omitted. The same transposition occurs also a few times as early as Cicero, e.g. *ad Att.* VIII. 15. 3 *Bulbus Cornelius*; *pro Milone* 3. 8 *Ahalia Servilius*. Other instances in the *Dialogus* are 13. 4 *Secundus Pomponius*, *Afro Domitio*. — **priora saecula:** i.e. the times of the Republic.

2. **ita:** viz. *oratores*. — **diserti,**
the fluent speakers; subj. of *vocan-*

tur. **Disertus** is a less complimentary designation than *orator* or *eloquens*: cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 94 *scripti . . . disertos cognosce me nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem*. So Quintilian, I. 10. 8, contrasts *disertus* and *orator*. — **causidici:** regularly in a disparaging sense, *pettifoggers*. — **advocati:** in the post-Augustan period synonymous with *patronus*, i.e. *pleader*. Earlier it was applied to the friends of the accused who lent him their moral support by appearing with him in court.

3. **pondus, burden.** This figurative use of the word is rare in prose. — **excipere:** to undertake something put upon one by another, as opposed to *suscipere*, to undertake something voluntarily.

sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum ut nostris temporibus hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut, quae e praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter excepti, cum singuli diversas eas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus 5 persequar servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingenii anteferret.

2 Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem

—ut nostris temporibus, *for our times*. This restrictive use of *ut* is the result of ellipsis; cf. Cic. *de Sen.* 12 *multae etiam, ut in nomine Romano, litterae*.—*iuvenis admodum*: according to chapter 17 the dialogue took place in the sixth year of Vespasian's reign, i.e. in the last half of 74 A.D. or in the first half of 75, when Tacitus was about twenty years old. See Intr. p. xiv.

4. **memoria et recordatione**: such combinations of synonyms are particularly frequent in the *Dialogus*, e.g. 7. 3 *fama et laus*; 28. 7 *studia curasque*; 16. 11 *reverem et antiquum*. This tendency is but one of many peculiarities in the style of the *Dialogus*, which betray its author's great indebtedness to Cicero, — particularly to the latter's rhetorical writings, the *de Oratore*, *Orator*, and *Brutus*. See Intr. p. xxiii.—*cum...adferrent, as they severally adduced different reasons, but withal plausible ones*.—*dum...redderent*: *i.e.*

each speaker in his argument reflecting his own special temper and mode of thinking. This use of *reddere* in prose is post-Augustan. The subjv. is the result of attraction.—*isdem numeris*, etc., *with the same divisions of the subject, the same arguments, and observing the same order*. For this sense of *numeri* cf. 32. 3 and examples there cited.

5. *neque enim defuit*, etc.: justifying the use of the preceding *disputationis*.—*diversam partem, the opposite side*; *diversus* in the sense of *adversus*, as in 34. 6.

2. **Curiatius Maternus**: nothing is known concerning Maternus beyond what is mentioned in the present dialogue. He was of provincial, and probably Gallic, origin. See Intr. p. xvii.—*Catonem*: a *fabula praetexta*, i.e. a tragic drama treating of events drawn from Roman history, as opposed to a Greek tragedy adapted to the Roman stage (*tragocedia* in the strict sense). The play here mentioned

recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragœdiae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum M. Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego utrosque non in iudiciis modo studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adscetabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem; quanvis maligne plerique

2

3

dealt with the fate of Cato Uticensis, who committed suicide at Utica in 46 B.C. to avoid falling into the hands of Julius Caesar.—*recitaverat*: see 9. 6 n. — *potentium*: i.e. the Emperor Vespasian and his advisers. Although a mild ruler, Vespasian was severe toward those who spoke freely in criticism of the imperial régime. Thus he banished and afterwards put to death Helvilius Priscus, besides expelling the philosophers of the Stoic and Cynic schools.—*in eo tragœdiae argumento*: i.e. *in eius tragœdiae argumento*—*tamquam*, *on the ground that*, as frequently in Tacitus. The subjv. in such cases is the same as that with *quod, quid*,—representing the thought as in the mind of some one else than the writer.—*sui oblitus*, etc., *that forgetting himself* (i.e. forgetting what was fitting and proper), *he had been thinking of nothing but Cato* (i.e. aiming to present the character of Cato). On the use of the acc. with *cogitare*, instead of *de* with the abl., cf. 36. 1 *rem cogitant*; *Agr.* 32 *maiores vestros et posteros cogitare*.—*M. Aper*: nothing is known of Aper beyond what is said of him in the *Dialogus*. He was born

in Gaul, as appears from 10. 3, and had risen to senatorial rank and the praetorship. See Intr. p. xv. —*Iulius Secundus*: like Aper, a man of Gallic origin. He was a friend of Quintilian, who in X. 3. 12 calls him *mira facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae*. In another passage, X. 1. 120, Quintilian charges him with caring more for style than thought. See Intr. p. xvi.

2. *ingenia*: on the use of *ingenium* in the sense of *man of genius* cf. *Hist.* I. 1 *magna illa ingenia cessere*.—*quos utrosque*: instead of the usual *quorum utrumque*.—*studiorum cupiditate*, with a passionate interest in their pursuits.—*fabulas*, conversation; a post-Augustan sense of the word; cf. 29. 5 *praecettores cum auditoribus fabulas habent*. Earlier writers use *sermo*.—*disputationes*: as for example that described in the *Dialogus* itself.—*arcana semotae dictionis*: apparently the mysteries of their private rehearsals, though neither *diction* nor *semotus* occurs elsewhere in this sense.

3. *quanvis opinarentur*: the concessive clause introduced by *quanvis* refers in Cicero to something viewed as possible or contin-

opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione
 4 et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat,
 5 tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus, si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3 Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'Nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent, quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? an ideo librum istum apprehendisti, ut diligentius

gent. Here, however, the *quamvis*-clause denotes a fact. The usage is post-Augustan.

4. nam, etc.: explaining *maligne* above.—*purus, idiomatic.*—*pressus, concise.* On the alliteration in *purus, pressus, profluens*, — a favorite rhetorical device of Tacitus, — see Intr. p. xxii.—*in quantum:* post-Augustan for *quantum*; cf. 32. 7 *in tantum*.

5. *tamquam*, etc., that he would gain; *tamquam* with the future participle is post-Augustan, as is also the free use of the future participle itself without an auxiliary; cf. Ann. XII. 49 *tamquam recipieraturus Armeniam*.—*maiorrem industriae*, etc.: i.e. greater glory from the industry and labor which he really devoted to letters.—*ingenium eius:* more objective than *ingenium suum*, which would be the normal mode of expression.—*alienarum artium:* such as rhetoric, philosophy, etc.

3. *igitur:* though regularly post-positive in other writers (except Sallust), *igitur* in Tacitus almost invariably stands at the beginning of the sentence.—*inter manus:* more commonly *in manibus*, but cf. Ann. III. 16 *visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum*.—*fabulae, gossip.*—*terrent quominus:* *terrere* construed like *detergere*; cf. Hist. I. 40 *terrere quo minus facerent scelus*; Caes. B. G. VII. 49 *ut terroret quo minus hostes inscuerentur*. On the employment of *quo minus* after a negative, where the ordinary usage demands *quin*, cf. below *non saliant quo minus consumas*; 21. 6; 34. 3. Tacitus employs *quin* and *quo minus* without reference to the earlier usage.—*Catonis tui:* i.e. of your play *Cato*.—*ames:* for the use of *amo* applied to things cf. Sen. Contr. II. 2. 10 *non ignoravit vitia sua sed amat*; Quint. X. 1. 130 *si non omnia sua amasset* (*sc.* Seneca).—

retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?

Tum ille 'Leges' inquit 'quid Maternus sibi debuerit,
et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato,
sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoe-
diam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi, atque 3
ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore
cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragediae istae non satiant' inquit Aper,
'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis
omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa
Thyestem consumas? cum te tot amicorum causae,
tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum
vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi
5

non quidem meliorem: the position of *quidem* is possibly a relic of the earlier and fuller form of expression *non illum quidem meliorem*. — **securiorem**, *safer*, i.e. less liable to a *prava interpretatione*; *securus* in this sense as applied to inanimate objects is post-Augustan.

2. **leges**, etc., *you will read what Maternus owed himself* (self-respect); i.e. you will find out by reading, what he owed, etc., implying that he could consistently do nothing else than allow the objectionable passages to remain. — **quaes audiisti**: i.e. at the reading of the play. — **Thyestes**: a frequent subject of dramatic treatment.

3. **intra me ipse**: note the difference between the Latin idiom and the English. — **maturare editionem festino**, *am hastening to expedite the publication*. For the partial tautology in *maturare festino* cf. 11. 2 *ingredi auspicatus sum*. — **cura**: i.e. the completion

of the drama. — **cogitationi incumbam**: *incumbere* in the figurative sense, governing the dative is post-Augustan; the Ciceronian construction is *incumbere ad* or *in aliquid*.

4. **satiant**: in pregnant sense, equivalent to *satiate deterrent*; hence the construction with *quo minus*. — *circa*, *upon*; so also in 28. 4 *circa educandos liberos*. This sense of the word is post-Augustan.

5. **suffeceris**: potential; Gr. 311, a. — **si importasses**: dependent upon *et quibus vix sufficeres* to be supplied; on the expression **negotium importasses** cf. Cicero *de Off. II. 18 si quid importetur nobis incommodi*; so Livy XXXIX, 14. 4 *ne quid fraudis aut periculi importarent*. — **novum negotium**: i.e. of composing *praetextae* (such as the *Cato* and *Domitius*), as opposed to the adaptation of Greek tragedies (like the *Medea* and *Thyestes*) to the Roman stage. —

ipse negotium importasses, ut Domitium et Catonem,
id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina,
Graeculorum fabulis adgregares.'

- 4 Et Maternus 'Perturbarer hac tua severitate, nisi
frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in con-
suetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi
poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum
obicis, cottidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adver-
sus te poeticac exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum
nobis iudicem, qui me vel in futurum vetet versus
facere vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate
compellat, ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in
quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem
illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam.'
- 5 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem
Aper recuset, faciam, quod probi et moderati iudices
solent, ut in iis cognitionibus se excusent, in quibus

Domitium: probably L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 54 B.C. He was later a vigorous opponent of Julius Caesar, and fell at Pharsalus. In the time of the Empire he was regarded as one of the noblest champions of liberty.—
Graeculorum: the diminutive conveys contempt.

4. **frequens et adsidua:** synonyms. Cf. 1. 4 n. *memoria et recordatione*; so also *agitare et insequi* in the following line.—in *consuetudinem vertisset*: cf. *Hist. IV. 27 quod tum in morem reverterat.*

2. **desidiam advocationum,** *neglect of the law.* The gen. with *desidia* occurs only here. The construction is apparently modeled after such expressions as *neglectus alicuius rei.* On *advocationum* see 1. 2 n. As *advocatus* in the Sil-

ver Age had acquired the meaning of *patronus*, so *advocatio* took on the sense of *patrocinium*.—
defendendae poeticae: explaining *patrocinium*, — the appositional genitive; (Gr. 214, f).

3. **iudicem:** *viz.* Secundus.—
mihi sudatum est: dat. of agency.—
satis superque sudatum: alliteration. See 2. 1 n.—
sanctior eloquentiam: *i.e.* poetry. On *eloquentia* in the general sense of literary expression cf. 10. 5.

5. **antequam recuset:** implying purpose, equivalent to *ne recusat*, hence the subjv.; Roby, *Lat. Gram.* 1672.—
ut se excusent: explanatory of *quod*. The expression is a technical one in judicial procedure. Any judge having a preconceived partiality for either party in a suit was held in duty bound to withdraw (*se*

manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.²

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alias studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huius non inveni, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud nos arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium, quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem iucundius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad

excusare) without waiting for his attitude to be challenged.—*alteram* (= *alterutram*), *one side or the other*.

2. *contubernii, familiar intercourse*,—a post-Augustan sense of the word, occurring also in 13. 1. —**Saleius Bassus**: a talented but needy epic poet favored by Vespasian; cf. Quint. N. 1. 90 *vehemens et poeticum ingenium Saleii Bassi fuit*.—*porro, therefore*.—*reum locupletiorem*: cf. Livy IX. 9. 18 *nos surus rei satis locuples*,—*sufficiently responsible parties*. So also in the phrases *locuples auctor, locuples testis, a responsible witness*. In the present passage the context demands the meaning *a more suitable defendant, i.e. one who would more properly be arraigned*. Secundus means to say that if any attack is made upon

poetry, then he feels that his own friend Saleius Bassus, a man every inch a poet, is attacked too; hence he cannot act as judge in the controversy.

3. *securus sit*, etc.: 'Tis not a question between poetry and oratory; I am simply arraigning Maternus personally for neglecting his natural gifts.'—*cum... possit*: join closely with *fovēt*.—*quatenus*, *because*. In this sense the word is poetical and post-Augustan.—*societate plurium*: i.e. by the fact that there are many others like him.—*plurium*: here = *complurium*.

4. *virilem et oratoriam, worthy a man and an orator*.—*complecti provincias*: sc. *patrocinio*, i.e. constitute one's self the protector of their interests.—*urbis*: *throughout the city*. So also *imperii, gentium*.

totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius
 5 excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitac omnia
 consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est tutius
 quam eam exercere artem, qua semper armatus praesi-
 sidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus,
 invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras,
 ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac
 potestate munitus? Cuius vis et utilitas rebus prospere
 6 fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur; sin
 proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et
 gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitan-
 tanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo pro-
 pugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio vel in senatu
 7 sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus
 nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam oppo-

5. *consilia factaque*: thoughts and acts.—*armatus*: agreeing with the subj. of *feras*.—*ultra*: i.e. going beyond mere defense.—*feras*: the second person in the general sense of anybody, everybody.—*perpetua potentia ac potestate*: *potentia* is power in general; *potestus* is vested or official power. For the alliteration see Intr. p. xxii.

6. *rebus prospere fluentibus*: cf. Cic. de Off. I. 90 in *rebus prospere et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus*.—*aliorum*: subjective with *perfugio*, objective with *tutela*.—*periculum increpuit*: a bold figure occurring only here, but quite in accordance with the vigor and energy of Aper's style.—*praesidium ac telum*: in apposition with *eloquentia*.—*sive...vel...sive*: *sive*...*sive* contrast in *iudicio vel in senatu* on the one hand (as the older courts), with *apud principem*, (as the new

tribunal of the Empire), on the other. For a precisely analogous use of particles cf. Ann. XIV. 7 *sive servitia armaret vel militem accenderet sive pereaderet*.—*in iudicio*: probably the centumviral court. This tribunal exercised jurisdiction particularly in cases involving the claims of heirs or wards to the possession of property. For the constitution of the court see 7. 1 n. *apud centumvirorum*.—*in senatu*: the jurisdiction of the senate was mainly criminal, and dealt chiefly with cases involving its own members, actions for lese-majesty and other political offenses.—*apud principem*: the highest tribunal was the *consilium* presided over by the Emperor himself. It enjoyed original jurisdiction in certain cases, while in others it exercised the right of revising the decision of the lower courts.

7. *Eprius Marcellus*: a no-

suit? Qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem, sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti 8 minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius 6 iucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim 2 dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato, quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum? idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos 3 quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent? Vllane tanta ingentium opum 4 ac magnae potentiae voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod

rious informer under Nero. In 66 A.D. he caused Thrasea Paetus to be put to death, and Thrasea's son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus, to be banished. The latter came back from exile under Galba, and in 70 A.D. made the fruitless attack upon Marcellus referred to in the text. Marcellus subsequently committed suicide to avoid the consequences of a conspiracy against Vespasian in which he had engaged.—*sapientiam, philosophy.* Helvidius, like Thrasea, was a Stoic.—*elusit, parried*, a technical gladiatorial term.

6. *non uno aliquo momento*: i.e. oratory is not like poetry, which gives but passing pleasure; cf. 9. *Vnus aliquis*, stronger than the simple *unus*, is a favorite locu-

tion of Cicero, e.g. *de Off.* II. 41; *de Fin.* III. 64. In post-Augustan writers it is rare.—*ac, and indeed*.

2. *plenam et frequentem*: redundant.—*orbitati*: alluding to the custom of insinuating one's self into the good graces of childless persons of wealth for the purpose of securing a legacy,—a practice satirized e.g. by Horace (*Sat.* II. 5) and Juvenal (*Sat.* 12. 93-130).—*sibi ipsi*: referring to the indefinite subject of *scire*.—*officii*: here *public office*,—a post-Augustan sense of the word.

3. *quin immo*: post-positive, as also in 34. 6 and 39. 4.—*venire*: construe with *scire*.

4. *veteres et senes, experienced old men*.—*orbis*: *sc. terrarum*; cf. *Agr.* 30 *raptiores orbis*.—*in summa*

- 5 optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum
 comitatus et egressus, quae in publico species, quae in
 iudiciis veneratio, quod illud gaudium consurgendi
 adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos,
 coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfe-
 6 ctum quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium
 gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo;
 illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora
 7 sunt: sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem,
 est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis ita gaudii pondus et
 constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine

rerum omnium abundantia: pleonastic,—apparently a union of two modes of expression, *rerum omnium abundantia* and *summa abundantia*.

5. **togatorum:** well-dressed citizens, as opposed to the *tunicatus populus* or rabble mentioned in 7. 4.—**comitatus et egressus:** these words constitute a sort of Hendiadys,—‘what throngs attend him when he sets out from home!’ See 11. 4, where Maternus replies to this remark of Aper’s. Note also the employment of abstract nouns in the plural,—a characteristic feature of Tacitean style; cf. 28. 8 *educationibus*; 28. 9 *pravitibus*, and see Intr. p. xix.—**consurgendi:** for *surgendi*. This use of *consurgo* does not appear till the Augustan era, e.g. Livy III. 71. 3. Cf. 38. 4 *depucerat* for *pucaverat*.—**coire populum et circumfundi coram,** etc.: note the alliteration. The infinitives are taken by some editors as exclamatory; but it is better to understand *quod gaudium (est)* from the preceding line, and to recognize a change of construction from the gerund to the inf. Such incon-

cinnity, while rare in the *Dialogus*, is peculiarly characteristic of Tacitus’s later works. Note the climax: ‘assemble, crowd into the orator’s very presence, and even follow him in his changing moods.’ The skillful speaker, like the skillful actor, makes his audience share his own emotions.

6. **vulgata,** well-known, further explained by *imperitorum . . . exposita*, as *secretiora* by *tantum . . . nota*. The emphasis is upon *vulgata*: ‘it’s only well-known pleasures that I am enumerating; there are others less manifest, yet much greater.’—*imperitorum quoque, even of the unobserving;* *quoque* here in the sense of *vel* as in 39. 6.—*dicentium, orantibus:* the substantive use of the partic., as frequently in Tacitus; see Intr. p. xx.—*illa:* referring to what follows.

7. **meditatam, carefully studied;** *meditatus* is passive here, as always in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 10. 10.—*profert:* as subj. supply *orator* from the preceding *orantibus*.—*pondus et constantia, weight and substance.*—*novam et recentem:* each word with its distinct meaning:

aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati; sed extem- 8
poralis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est. Nam in ingenio quoque sicut in agro, quamquam quaedam serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur. Evidem, 7
ut de me ipse fatetur, non eum diem lactiorem egredi quo mihi latus *clavus* oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praetoram accepi, quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut apud patres reum prospere defendere aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores

new to the orator, and *recently treated* by him.—*curam*, *literary production*; a post-Augustan sense.—*attulerit*: future perfect, where we should rather expect the perfect, *attulit*.—*lenocinatur*, *promotes, increases*: a post-Augustan sense.

8. *extemporalis*: with *temeritatis* as well as *audaciae*: ‘in daring, or sometimes even in reckless improvisation, there is the very highest pleasure.’ For *extemporalis*, which is a post-Augustan word, Cicero uses *subitus, fortuitus*, e.g. *de Or. I. 150 subitam et fortuitam orationem*; so also *Dial. 10. 10*.—*quamquam . . . elaborentur*: ‘although certain things which are planted and carefully tilled are sources of delight’; condensed for *quamquam quaedam, quae serantur atque elaborantur, gratia sint*. For the text of the passage see Crit. App. For *quamquam* with the subjv. see Gr. 285. 6.

7. *latus clavus*, *the broad purple stripe on the tunic, the badge*

of senatorial rank.—*homo novus*: i.e. the first of his family to hold curule office.—*civitate minime favorabili*: some obscure city in Gaul; *favorabilis* is post-Augustan; so also *centumvir* in the sense of *urbs*.—*quam eos*: supply *ago* from *egi* above.—*huius in dicendo facultatis*: cf. 38. 1 *modum in dicendo*.—*apud patres, apud centumviros, apud principem*: see 5. 6 n. The centumviral court consisted earlier of 105 judges, three from each of the thirty-five tribes. In the time of the Empire it had been increased to 180; but for convenience’ sake the old name was always retained.—*ipsos illos, even those* trusted friends and servants of the Emperor. Nearly all the domestic officials and financial agents of the Emperor were freedmen. Even these favorites were sometimes indicted and compelled to enlist the services of an advocate.—*libertos et procuratores*: not two distinct classes, but *procura-*

2 principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra
 tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor,
 tum habere, quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis
 3 datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius
 artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? Quinam
 inlustriores sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et
 rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et
 adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona
 4 spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis
 ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et
 tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et
 5 digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini iam
 in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum
 urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere con-
 8 cupiscunt. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium,
 de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius
 enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et obliteratis

tors who belonged to the class of liberti. — datur with the inf. occurs repeatedly in Tacitus, e.g. Ann. IV. 6 dabaturque primoribus disserere.

2. codicillis, cabinet-orders of the Emperor.

3. fama et laus: note the accumulation of synonyms in this passage: fama et laus; negotiosos et rebus intentos; vulgus imperitum, tunicatus populus; advenae et peregrini. — quibus modo est: clause of proviso in ind.

4. ingerunt, impress upon. — tunicatus, in working dress; cf. Hor. Ep. I. 7. 65 *vilia vendentem tunicato scruta populo.* — hic: i.e. noster. — digito demonstrat: usually *digito monstrare*, but cf. Cic. de Or. II. 266 *demonstravi digito pictum Gallum.*

5. auditos, heard of, a significa-

tion occurring repeatedly in Tacitus, e.g. Germ. 41 *Albis flumen nunc tantum auditur.* So Pliny, Ep. VII. 27. 7 *simulacra audit.* and even Cicero, e.g. Nat. D. II. 6 *eo ipso die auditam esse eam pugnam memoriae proditum est.* — velut adgnoscere: i.e. as though they had already seen them; so clear a picture have they gained by report.

8. Marcellum Eprium, Crispum Vibium: for the transposition of the names see 1. 1 n. For Marcellus see 5. 7 n. Q. Vibius Crispus, a native of Vercellae in Cisalpine Gaul, was noted as an orator and an informer under Nero. He filled several minor offices in the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, and died at an advanced age in the reign of Domitian. — novis et recentibus, new and consequently fresh in the minds of all.

exemplis utor) non minus notos esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis alterius bis, alterius ter milies sestertium 2 praestat (quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse), sed ipsa eloquentia, cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione 4 natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia

a. bis, ter milies: *sc. centena milia, i.e. 200,000,000 and 300,000,000 sesterces respectively, or nearly \$10,000,000 and \$15,000,000.* The wealth of Crispus seems to have been proverbial; cf. Martial IV. 54. 7 *divitior Crisp.* How lucrative the business of informer was, may be seen from *Ann. XVI.* 33, where it is stated that Marcellus received *quinquagies sestertium* (\$250,000) for accusing Thrasea. — **praestat:** note the singular; *bis milies sestertium* is regarded as a unit. — **beneficio,** *b; reason of,* not a recognized classical use, though common later.

3. cognoscenda, spectanda ha-beremus: post-Augustan for *cognoscenda, spectanda nobis essent.* Tacitus affects this idiom, e.g. 31. 5

dicendum habuerit. The subjv. *haberemus* expresses the purpose of *eloquentia*, which is here personified.

4. abiectius: this unusual comparative form is not found before Tacitus. — **quoque:** *i.e. et quo.* — **nascentes eos circumsteterunt:** 'surrounded their cradles.'

**5. sine commendatione na-
tum:** cf. Cic. *Brut.* 96 *sine ulla
commendatione maiorum. Natales* as a subst. is post-Augustan. — **substantia facultatum, store of
riches.** The expression is found only here and in late Latin. — **alter habitu quoque corporis
contemptus:** to which of the two Aper refers, is not known. — **donec as long as,** a sense of the word rarely found in prose until

14 agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum
 6 quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, vence-
 rabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit
 ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quac ab ipso
 acceperint quaeque ipsis accumulare et in alios con-
 gerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum
 attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe
 7 acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac
 tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae,
 quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam
 divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet
 8 quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et orna-
 mentis et facultatibus resertas domos eorum videmus
 qui se ab ineunte adulescentia causis forensibus et
 oratorio studio dederunt.

the post-Augustan period.—**agunt feruntque cuncta**: 'carry everything before them, are everywhere triumphant.' The expression is generally used of plundering an enemy's country, like the Greek φέρειν καὶ διγείν. Note that the usual order of the phrase, *ferre et agere*, is here reversed. So also sometimes in Greek.

6. venerabilis senex: Vespasian was about 65 years old at this time.—**patientissimus veri**: *i.e.* quite ready to recognize the truth, as explained by what immediately follows, **Marcellum ... attulisse**.—**ceteros niti**: although grammatically coördinate with **attulisse**, *niti* is logically subordinate to it, 'while his other friends depend, etc.'—**quod** serves both as obj. of **acceperint** and as subj. of **possit**; cf. *Ann. II. 83 quaedam statim omissa sunt aut retusus obliteravit*.

7. tot ac tanta: for **tot ac**

tantas res. *Tot* as a neuter subst. is not elsewhere found.—**imagines ac tituli et statuae**: *imagines* is probably not used in its regular technical sense of *ancestral masks* since **Marcellus** and **Crispus** were *novi homines*. The reference is rather to the so-called *cipeatae* or *argenteae imagines*, which were portraits of the Emperor or some distinguished man; *tituli* are honorary inscriptions upon busts or statues. *Statuae* probably refers to life-size statues. Under the Empire the right to set up one's own statue was a privilege conferred by the Senate or the Emperor.—**neque ipsa**: equivalent to *ne ipsa quidem*, a post-Augustan usage.—**tam hercule quam divitiae et opes**: 'no more, in fact, than wealth and riches.'

8. his: *i.e.* those enumerated in chapters 5-8. The emphasis rests upon **bis**, — such, then, are the honors, etc.

Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus 9
 insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque
 dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utili-
 tates alunt, voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem
 et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae 2
 deinceps dicturus sum, aures tuae, Materne, respuant :
 cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte
 loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus 3
 redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si
 hoc honoriscentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit
 aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si 4
 propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inci-
 derit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne,
 non quia poeta es neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi 5
 enim Bassi domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi,

9. nam carmina: before these words supply in thought: 'Quite different is it with poetry.' — **in-**
sumere **optat**: the inf. with *opto* is found in prose as early as Livy, e.g. IX. 14. 15 *perdere prius quam perfire optantes*. — **inde**: i.e. from Maternus's devotion to the art. — **dignitatem**, etc.: the same points of view as considered above in chapter 5 in discussing oratory. — **infructuosam**: a post-Augustan word.

2. cui-bono, to whom is it of advantage? Gr. 233. This was originally a legal phrase employed in the sense: 'Who could have had a motive?' — **apud te, in your works**. — **Agamemnon aut Iason**: characters in the *Thyestes* and *Medea* respectively; cf. 3. 2.

3. Saleium: see 5. 2 n. — **poe-**
tam, vatem: 'ratus, the oldest name for poet, afterwards fell into complete contempt, and was discarded for *poeta*'. Vergil and suc-

ceeding writers made *ratus* once more a name of honor, and denoted by it an inspired bard, something higher than *poeta*'. Munro on Lucet. I. 102. — **deducit, salutat, prosequitur**: 'who escort him from his house to the Forum, who pays his respects to him in the morning, who attends him to the gates when he goes on a journey?'

4. negotium: in the legal sense of a *lawsuit*. — **non quia poeta es**: Maternus was an advocate as well as a poet. For the ind. with *non quia* in causal clauses which deny absolutely, see Gildersleeve 541, Rem. 1. *Non quia*, in place of the earlier *non quid*, begins to be frequent about the time of Livy.

5. domi nascuntur: apparently a proverbial expression. Cf. Cic. Acad. II. 80 *domi nobis ista nascuntur; ad tam*, IX. 3. 2 *sed quid ego nunc haec ad te, cuius domi nascuntur? — quorum tamen hic*

quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut, cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ulti et ambire cogatur, ut sint 6 qui dignentur audire. Et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conductit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequeatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem velut in herba vel flore praeceppta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit 7 frugem; nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucere. 8 Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. 9 Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio

exitus est: the outcome of which, however, is simply this. — toto anno, magna parte: here of duration. Gr. 279. — *ulti, besides.*

6. *gratis*, without expense. — *auditorium*, an audience room, — a post-Augustan word. — *exstruit*, arranges, gets ready: only here in this sense. — *libellos*: here probably in the sense of programmes; cf. Martial XIV. 142; Pliny *Ep.* III. 18. 4. The custom of publicly reading literary works originated with Asinius Pollio about 28 B.C. Some authors recited in public places, as the Forum and the baths. Others recited to private audiences, hiring and furnishing buildings for the purpose at their own expense. Under the Empire these recitations became so frequent that it was often difficult to secure the attendance of even a small audience; cf. Pliny *Ep.* I. 13. 2 *lente cunctanterque veniunt; nec tamen permanent sed*

ante finem recessunt, alii dissimilanter et sursum, alii simpliciter et libere. — *ut prosecutatur: concessive.* — *omnis illa laus, etc.: all that fame vanishes within a day or two, just as grain that is gathered in the blade or flower does not come to maturity.* The comparison is not fully carried out in the Latin. With *laus* we expect some such verb as *perit*, and with *praecerta, messis.* — *unum aut alterum: of a small indefinite number, — one or two.* So also 29. 1; 39. 4; cf. 21. 3 *una et altera.* — *refert: sc.* Bassus, as the representative of poets in general.

7. *mansurum*: equivalent to a relative clause, *which will remain.* This use of the future participle is mainly post-Ciceronian.

8. *quingenta sestertia, 500,000 sesterces*, nearly \$25,000.

9. *si ita res familiaris exigat: i.e.* if the low status of one's finances demand it. — *se ipsum*

mereri ; quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem ! Adice quod poetis, si modo 10 dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est. Ne opinio 10 quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aequo poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat ? nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat ; quotus quisque, cum 3 ex Hispania vel Asia (ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar) in urbem venit, Saleum Bassum requirit ? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidiit, transit et contentus est,

colere : *se* is obj.; *ipsum* subj.—
genium suum propitiare, *make one's genius propitious*. The *genius* was the tutelary deity which, according to the Roman conception, came into existence with the birth of each individual and presided over his destiny during life; cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 187.

10. **conversatio**, *intercourse*, a post-Augustan usage of the word.—utque ipsi dicunt, *nemora et lucos* : cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 77
scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem.

10. **opinio**, *reputation*; in this absolute sense post-Augustan.—**quod**: attracted into the case of its predicate, *premium*.—**aeque quam**: for *aeque ac*; frequent in post-Augustan Latin, especially in negative sentences, e.g. *Ann.* II. 52 *nihil aequo carebatur quam ne bellum metuere*.

2. **rarissimarum**, *the choicest*; cf. for this rare meaning of the word, *Agr.* 4 *mater rarae castitatis*; *7 rarissima moderatio*.—**nedum ut innotescat**, *still less does it become known*; **nedum ut for nedum**.—**per tot provincias**, *through the provinces, so many in number*.—**quotus quisque**, *here few!* So also 20. 11. — *Gallis nostris*: Aper himself was a Gaul. See 2. 1 n. and Intr. p. xv.

3. **ut semel vidit** : cf. the story in Pliny, *Ep.* II. 3. 8, of the Spaniard who journeyed to Rome for the purpose of beholding Livy, and upon seeing him immediately returned home. — *vidisset*: the pluperfect here, at variance with the usual sequence of tenses in clauses of this type, emphasizes the unreal character of the hypothesis. See Kuhner, *Lat. Gram.*, II. § 224, 5, Anm. 3.

4 ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo, tamquam eos, quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit, deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae.

5 Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et clegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat, anteponendam ceteris aliarum

6 artium studiis credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus

7 subsistis. Vt, si in Graecia natus esces, ubi ludicas

4. *tamquam* : here, as also in 8 and 25. 1, to introduce a substantive clause of indirect discourse.

— *parte, field*. — *nomen inserere famae* : a Tacitean expression ; cf. *Hist.* II. 61 *inserere sese fortunae*.

5. *eloquentiam* : see 4. 3 n. — *cothurnum* : by metonymy for *tragoeidia*. — *vestrum* : i.e. of Maternus and his fellows. — *sonum, lofty sound* ; cf. Quint. X. 1. 68 *sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior*. — *elegorū* : the elegy among the Romans was primarily a love poem. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid were its chief representatives. — *lascivias, lusus* : for the plural see 6. 5 n. — *iamborum amaritudinem* : iambics were originally among the Greeks the vehicle of invective ; cf. Hor. *A. P.* 79 *Archilochem proprio rabies armavit iambo*. In Roman literature the type is well represented by some of Horace's epodes. —

ceteris aliarum artium studiis : redundant ; cf. *Gor.* 4 *nullis aliis aliarum nationum conuictis*.

6. *tecum mihi est res, 'tis with you my quarrel is*. — *ipsam arcem, the very heights*. — *errare . . . subsistis* : Tacitus abandons the figure with which he began in *ipsam arcem*. We should expect in *inferioribus* instead of in *levioribus*. — *addepturus* : with concessive force, though you might attain ; cf. 9. 7 n.

7. *ludicas artes, spectacular performances*, here including athletic contests ; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 88. 20 *ludicrae sunt [artes] quae ad voluntatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt*. — *honestum est* : i.e. respectable for free-born citizens to engage in such contests, which it was not at Rome. — *Nicostrati* : a famous athlete who lived in the first century A.D. — *robur ac vires* : a favorite phrase of Tacitus in the *Histories*, e.g. I. 87, II. 11. — *ad pugnam* : i.e. boxing. — *levi-*

quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati
robur ac vires dii dedissent, non paterer immanes illos
et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu
disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in
forum et [ad causas et ad] vera proelia voco, cum prae- 8
sertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod pleris-
que patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere
poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim 9
vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo,
sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec 10
excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advoca-
tionis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu : medita-
tus videris elegisse personam notabilem et cum
auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit :
hinc ingentes exsistere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis 11
praeципue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri.
Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi 12
sumas adversarium superiorem ; nobis satis sit privatas

tate iaculi : the javelin was a light weapon. — **vanesce**: in prose a post-Augustan word. — **ab theatris** : *i.e.* from recitations, which were often held in theatres. The reference cannot be to dramatic performances, since at this time the legitimate drama had disappeared from the Roman stage.

8. tamquam : as in 4. — **offendere**: dependent upon **obnoxium**, a Grecism. The classical construction is the dative of a noun ; cf. 16. 4 *manifestus accingi*.

10. necessitudine officii: 'from necessity of performing an obligation' ; **necessitudo** here = **necessitas**. — **fortuitae et subitae** = **extemporalis**. See 6. 8 n. — **meditatus**, etc, *with deliberate purpose do you*

seem, etc **meditatus** is the participle, and is employed by Tacitus only here in its active sense. — **personam** : viz. Cato. — **dicturam** : cf. 9. 7 n. *mansurum*.

11. hinc : *i.e.* from poetry.

12. tolle igitur : some assume a lacuna before these words. At all events we must supply in thought some such notion as: 'But your language thus gives the greater offense to those in power, and brings greater peril to yourself. Therefore away (*tolle igitur*) with the plea that poetry is a tranquil and secure occupation, since you yourself incur the hostility of a superior opponent, the Emperor.' — **privatas controversias** : *i.e.* those cases which concern neither the state nor the Emperor. —

et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

- 11 Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus 'Parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis
 2 qui causas agere non possent, ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem in Neronem improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii
 3 potentiam fregi; et hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum
 4 gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore

nostri saeculi : as opposed to the days of Cato, for example.

11. *non minus diu, at no less length.* — *prosterneret*: a strong word, *trample in the dust*, with sarcastic allusion to Aper's impetuosity.

2. *sicut . . . ita*: the *sicut*-clause has concessive force; cf. 37. 5 *quae mala sicut non accidere melius est . . . ita cum accidente*, where also we have the pleonastic *sicut* in place of the simple *ut*. — *arte quadam*: further explained by *concedendo ut versus facerent*. — *eniti, accomplish by effort*. — *ingredi auspicatus sum*: for the pleonasm cf. 3. 3 n. *maturare festino*; *Ger.* 18 *ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspicio*; *Ann.* XIII. 10 *principium anni inciperet*; so

frequently in expressions of beginning. — in *Neronem Vatinii potentiam*, *Vatinius's power over Nero*; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 49 *in populos perpetuum potestatem*; III. 23 *in populum vitae necisque potestam habent*. — *studiorum sacra*, the sacred province of literature; cf. Quint. X. I. 92 *sacra litterarum*. — *Vatinii*: one of the worst of the favorites of Nero. Tacitus says of him elsewhere, *Ann.* XV. 34, *Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit*. Nothing further is known of the success of Maternus here referred to.

3. *nobis, notitiae, nominis*: alliteration. See Intr. p. xxii. — *partum*: *sc. esse*.

4. *deiungere*: found only here in the figurative sense. — *comitatus*

constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam intruperunt. Nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem 5 melius innocentia tuetur quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint. Nemora vero et luci et 12 secretum ipsum, quod Aper increbat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipios carminum fructus numerem, quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec 2 eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et

istos et egressus aut frequentiam: with reference to Aper's words in 9.3; **comitatus et egressus** correspond to *deduxit*, and **frequentiam salutantium to salutem.** For the substantive use of the participle **salutantium** see 6.6n. **dicentium.** — **aera et imagines,** bronze medallions; hendiads. Reference is made to the *imagines clipeatae*; see 8.7.—**me nolente:** *nolens* is a post-Augustan form, and confined almost exclusively to the ablative absolute construction.

In domum intruperunt: in the historical works Tacitus uses this verb as transitive, e.g. *Ann. XIV. 11 ne intrumperet curiam.*

9. **statum tuetur:** the figure is taken from the gladiatorial profession; cf. *Cic. ad Fam. IX. 16.6* *qui me non putem tueri meum statum in pase.* — **in senatu:** see 1.10. **pro alterius discriminē:** *non* as attorney but as friend.

12. **quod Aper increbat:**

see 9.10. **in strepitu, amid the din of the city;** cf. Aper's *incunditas ubi* in 9.10. — **sedente ante ostium litigatore:** cf. *Ilor. Ep. I. 5.31 atria servantem claram: Sat. I. 1. 10 sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.* Note the change of construction from *in* with the ablative to the ablative absolute. — **sordes, wretchedness, literally mourning,** which it was usual for the accused to put on. For the combination with *lacrimis* cf. *Cic. ad Fam. XIV. 2.2 te nunc, mea Terentia, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus.* — **sed secedit:** anacoluthon; **secedit** and **fruitur** are not opposed to **componuntur** but to **strepitu**, a modifier of the latter. Strictness of expression would require *sed in locis pupis . . . quo animus secedit*, etc.

2. **haec primordia, haec penetralia:** *here was her beginning, here her shrine.* — **hoc habitu, etc.,** in this guise and dress, referring

nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit ; sic oracula loque-
 3 bantur. Nam lucrosac huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus atque, ut tu
 4 dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum sacculum et oratorum et criminum inops poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa
 5 defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos diis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orpheus et Linus ac, si introspicere altius velis,
 6 ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si hacc fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiac aut Hyperidis includi.

loosely to poetic form. Maternus's point is that eloquentia began with poetry; *habitu* and *cultu* are ablative of quality modifying the omitted subj. of *influxit*, *eloquentia*, which is here personified.—*commoda mortalibus, in kindness to mortals*; cf. Livy XXXIV. 3. 5 *nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est*.—*et nullis*: for the regular *nec ullis*. So also 28. 9 *et nullis pravitatis detorta*; Agr. 16 *et nullis delictis invitus*.—*sic*: i.e. in poetic form.

3. *huius*: of the present day.—*sanguinantis*: with reference to the bloody work of the informers. The word occurs only here in this sense.—*ut tu dicebas*: see S. 6.

4. *ceterum, but on the other hand*; used adversatively.

5. *interesse epulis*: no other ancient writer alludes to any such association of gods and poets.—*inter quos, associated with whom*: supply *fuisse*. Tacitus sometimes omits the inf. with *accipere* when used in this sense; cf. 40. 3 *quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cratensem accepimus?*—*neminem = nullum*; in Tacitus only here and perhaps 15. 1 *neminem oratorem*. The same use is found a few times also in Cicero, e.g. *Nat. D.* II. 81 *nemo opifex possit consequi imitando*.—*Linum*: an early bard put to death by Apollo, with whom he had presumed to engage in a contest of musical skill.—*altius*: literally *higher*, i.e. *farther back*.—*ipsum Apollinem*: possibly alluding to Apollo's sojourn at the court of Admetus.

Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui 7
Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber
tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contu- 13
bernum comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia
oratorum vita. Licit illos certamina et pericula sua 2
ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum
Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum

7. Ciceronis, etc.: Homer and Demosthenes, the greatest poet and orator of the Greeks, are compared with Vergil and Cicero, the greatest literary representatives of the Romans; so Euripides and Sophocles, Lysias and Hyperides, writers of less eminence from Maternus's point of view, are compared with Roman authors of corresponding grade. — **Vergilii detrectent:** cf. Donatus *Vita Verg.* 43 *obtrectatores Vergilio numquam defuerunt.* — **Asinii:** C. Asinius Pollio, the friend and patron of Vergil. He served in the Civil War, and was subsequently consul, but soon afterwards withdrew from public life and devoted himself to literary pursuits, oratory, history, and poetry, in all of which he gained distinction. He originated the custom of public recitations of new literary productions. See 9. 6 n. Vergil's fourth Eclogue is addressed to him, and his praises are also sung by Horace *Odes* II. 1; cf. also Quint. X. 1. 113 *multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia.* — **Messalla:** M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus; he fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, but later attached himself to Octavianus, by whom he was honored with various public offices; cf. Quint. X. 1. 113 *Messalla nitidus*

et canidius et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor. — **liber:** i.e. a published speech, as often in the *Dialogus.* The usage is post-Augustan. — **Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes:** Quintilian, X. 1. 98, speaks briefly of both these dramas, which were extant in his day, but have since disappeared: *Varii Thyestes cuiuslibet Graccarum comparari potest, Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir fracture poterit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluerit.* — **Varii:** L. Varius Rufus, noted as an epic and tragic poet. He was a friend of Vergil and Horace. The latter frequently speaks of him, e.g. in *Sat.* I. 5. 40 *Plotius et Varius Sinuosa Vergiliusque occurunt, animae quales non candidiores terra tullit.*

13. ne fortunam quidem: cf. chapter 9, where Aper pictures in glowing colors the good fortune of the orator. — **contubernium:** here probably of communion with nature or the Muses; cf. 6, and for the figurative use of **contubernium** see 5. 2 n.

2. licet evexerint: concessive. — **Vergilii secessum:** according to tradition Vergil in his last years retired to a villa near Naples on the Hill of Posillipo, where his tomb is still pointed out.

Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum
 3 notitia. Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus,
 qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus
 et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergiliūm veneratus
 4 est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus
 Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae
 5 vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et
 Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent
 in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent an
 quod timentur? Quod, cum cottidie aliquid rogentur,
 ii quibus non praestant indignantur? Quod adligati
 omni adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi
 videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa
 6 eorum potentia est? Tantum posse liberti solent. Me
 vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae remotum a sollici-

3. **auditis versibus:** Donatus, *Vita Verg.* 26, and Servius, on *Ecl.* 6. 11, state that Vergil's Eclogues were frequently recited in the theatres.—**universus, in a body.**—**Vergiliūm:** the repetition of the name where we naturally expect a pronoun is not infrequent in Tacitus; cf. *Ann.* XII. 64 *perdita prius Domitia Lepida mulieribus causis, quia Lepida*, etc.—**veneratus est:** an honor usually reserved for the Emperor and the members of his family.

4. **Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio:** the former a tragic poet highly rated by Quintilian, of whom he was a contemporary; cf. Quint. X. 1. 98 *corum tragicorum quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditio ac nitore praestare confitebantur*. Domitius Afer was one of the most distinguished orators of his day. He

died in Nero's reign, 59 A.D. Quintilian says of him, X. 1. 118 *corum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Julius Africanus longe præstantissimi*. For the transposition of nomen and cognomen see 1. 1 n.

5. **quid habent concupiscendum, what do they possess that is worthy of being coveted?**—**quod timent:** sc. *principem*.—**quod timentur:** sc. *a ceteris*.—**adligati omni adulatione:** literally *bound by all sorts of flattery*, i.e. feeling obliged to bestow it.—**tantum posse liberti solent, freedmen are wont to be as powerful (as they are),** i.e. they have no more real power than the *liberti*, or imperial favorites, who maintained their positions only by fawning and servility. With *liberti* understand *principis*.

6. **me vero dulces Musae,** etc.: *Georg.* II. 475 *me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae accipiant.*

tudinibus et curis et necessitate cottib[us] aliquid contra animum faciendi in illa sacra illosque [cives] ferant, nec insanum ultra et lubricum forun. famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec 7 anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere quandoque fatalis meus dies veniet; statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed 8 hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instin-
14
etus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus

— **sacra**: here apparently in the sense of *sacred spots*; cf. *Ann.* I. 79 *qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis omnibus dicaverint*. — **nec**: frequent in post-Augustan writers for *ne*. — **insanum et lubricum forun**: cf. *Verg. Georg.* II. 501 *ne ferrea iura insanumque forun aut populi tabularia videntur*. *lubricum* refers to the uncertainties of forensic success. — *famam pallentem*: *i.e.* fame that makes its followers pale; cf. *Hor. Odes*, I. 4. 13 *pullili mors*.

7. **non me, not me** may the, etc. — *anhelans libertus*: probably some imperial freedman sent in h[ab]ite on important business.

Incertus futuri, etc.: ‘may I never be compelled to make the Emperor a co-heir, as a guarantee that my will shall not be broken and the property confiscated.’ Under Nero and Domitian the precaution referred to was both common and necessary; cf. *Agr.* 43 *satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et proximae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum cum velut honore*

inducere. *Tam caca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulatio[n]ibus erat ut nearet a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem*. — *quandoque, whenever*. — *fatalis meus dies, my destined day, my final summons*. Cf. C. I. L. I. 1009 *operavit hora tristis fatalis mea*.

8. **statuar**: *i.e.* may my statue be placed; cf. *Cic. pro Arch.* 22 *in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is (Ennius) esse constitutus ex marmore*. — *tumulo*: *i.e.* *in tumulo*; Gr. 207, 3. — *coronatus*: sc. *laure*, as a poet. — *consulat*: sc. *senatum*. — *roget*: sc. *principem*. The reference, apparently, is to the erection of a statue in some public place, as opposed to a bust or statue on the tomb. This honor was dependent upon official action of the Senate or Emperor.

14. **finierat**: for this intransitive use cf. 42. 1 *finierat Maternus*. — *instinctus*: sc. *divino spiritu*; cf. *Quint. XII.* 10. 24 *instinctus divino spiritu ratibus*. — *Vipstanus Messalla*: he had served as military tribune in the struggle

- est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem
 2 inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus'
 inquit 'interveni secretum consilium et causae alicuius
 meditationem tractantibus ?'
- 3 'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adco
 vellem maturius intervenisses ; delectasset enim te et
 Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum, ut
 omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas
 converteret, exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus
 suis laeta utque poetas defendi decebat, ardentior et
 poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'
- 4 'Me vero' inquit 'sermo iste infinita voluptate adfe-
 cisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et
 optimi temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus
 tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra
 exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis,
 quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum
 iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis, qui ista
 disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures
 5 pervenerint. Itaque hercle non minus probari video
 in te, Secunde, quod Iulii Africani vitam componendo
 spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum,

between Vespasian and Vitellius in 69 A.D. Subsequently he wrote an account of his campaigns, and is cited by Tacitus as one of the latter's sources for Book III of the *Histories*. His greatest fame, however, was as an orator; cf. *Hist.* IV. 42 *magnam eloquentiae famam Vipstanus Alessalla adeptus est*.—altiorem sermonem, important discussion; cf. *Hist.* IV. 5 *altiora studia*; Quint. III. 8. 42 *altior quaestio*.

3. oratio, as contrasted with

sermo, implies a loftier style and choicer diction.—cum *exhortatus est*: the *cum*-clause is here "explicative," being equivalent to a clause in apposition with *sermo*. See Gildersleeve, 583.

4. *ingenium alunt*: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 126.—*pervenerint*: future perfect ind., *adferent* being understood with the *tum*-clause.

5. *Iuli Africani*: an eminent orator of the reign of Nero. Quintilian, X. 1. 118, places him by the side of the famous Domitius Afer;

quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum 15 et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepti, cum oblitus et tuae et fratri tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes; atque id eo, credo, audacius, quod malignitatis opinionem non verbaris, cum eam gloriam, quam tibi alii concedunt, ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam 3 ago, neque aut Secundum aut M. Iunius aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum, 4 ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddit, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiror. Et quod qui- 5

cf. 13. 4 n.—**quam in Apro**: sc. *probari*; i.e. Secundus and Aper both met with approval,—Secundus among those who, like Messalla, sympathized with his literary pursuits, Aper among those who, unlike Messalla, thought the oratorical training of the day superior to that of former times. The reference to Aper, accordingly, is a sly bit of irony on the part of Messalla.—**scholasticis controversiis**: concerning these see chapter 35. *Scholasticus* is a post-Augustan word.

15. **excepti**: equivalent to *audi-
vi*, as in 1. 5; cf. 34. 2 *altercationes
exciperit*.—**neminem oratorem**: possibly another instance of *nemo
for nullus*, as in 12. 5.—**fra-
tris tui**: M. Aquilius Regulus, one of the worst of the *detatores* under Nero, and later under Do-

mitian. Pliny in his Epistles speaks of him in terms of the greatest contempt, yet no one ever denied his great ability. He was probably brother of Messalla only on the mother's side.—**opinionem, repu-
tation**.—**non verebaris, had no
need to fear**.

3. **paenitentiam ago**: post-Augustan for *me pacuit*; cf. Quint. IX. 3. 12 *non acturo paenitentiam*.—**quamquam disputes**: the subjv. with *quamquam* is also post-Augustan and usual in Tacitus, though the ind. occurs.

4. **velim impetratum**, etc.: 'I would like to induce one of you.' This employment of the perfect passive participle is common in Cicero, but occurs in Tacitus only here.—**scrutetur ac reddit, ex-
amine and report**.—**plerumque**:

busdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graecis accidisse, ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos ille Nicetes et si quis alias Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut *hos ipsi* a Cicerone aut Asinio recessimus.'

16 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantisimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

2 Et Messalla 'Aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

3 'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes, quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse.

4 Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paullo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

equivalent to *persaepe*, as usually in Tacitus.

5. *quia video*: 'the fact that, as I see.' Tacitus occasionally employs *quia* for *quod* to introduce a substantive clause, e.g. *An. II. 43 Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apua ceteros auxerat et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat.* — *etiam Graecis accidisse*, etc.: the writer's desire for brevity has prevented the logical expression of the thought, viz., that the same experience has befallen the Greeks, and even in a greater degree. — *Sacerdos ille Nicetes*: a rhetorician of Smyrna. He taught in Rome, and was the instructor of

the younger Pliny. See Pliny *E.P. VI. 6. 3 quos tunc ego frequenteram, Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem.* — *Ephesum, Mytilenas*: in the time of Augustus Mytilenae was the more famous school of the two. — *concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus*, by the loud applause of his pupils. *Scholasticus* is elsewhere teacher of rhetoric, e.g. *26. 11.* — *Asinio*: see 12. 7 n.

16. *quaestionem movisti*: cf. 25. *I nominis controversiam movit.*

4. *ipse manifestus est accingi*, etc.: a Grecism for *manifestus est ipsum accingi nec perferre.*

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum 5
 saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione
 damnari. Sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis 6
 antiquos, quam oratorum actatem significacione ista
 determininetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam 7
 veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante
 oculos Vlices ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et
 trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit; vos autem 8
 Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat
 Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut
 utrique superstites essent. Ex quo appareret non multo 9
 plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et
 Demosthenis actatem: quod spatium temporis si ad 10
 infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum
 videatur; si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum
 immensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est.
 Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, *is est magnus* 11

5. *non enim*: 'quite true, for I do not propose, etc.'—*inauditum*: without a hearing; in this sense not found before Tacitus. The phrase *inauditum et indefensum* was perhaps a regular legal formula; it occurs also in *Hist.* I. 6; II. 10; *Ann.* II. 77.

7. *audio antiquos*: hear the word *ancient*.—*Vlices ac Nestor*: the most famous orators of the Homeric age.—*mille fere et trecentis annis*: Eratosthenes set 1183 B.C. as the date of the fall of Troy. From then until the time of the *Dialogus* (75 A.D.) would be 1258 years,—in round numbers 1300.

8. *utrique*: viz. Demosthenes and Hyperides. For the plural cf. *Ann.* XI. 1 *utrisque accusandis*; *Ger.* 34.—*superstites*: sc. *Philippo et Alexandro*.

9. *non multo plures quam trecentos annos*: Demosthenes and Hyperides died in 322 B.C., so that the interval was really one of nearly 400 years. But Aper is anxious to put the case as strongly as possible, and so chooses the smaller number. Lipsius emended the *trecentos* of the MSS. to *quadringentos*, understanding *actatem* to refer to the period of Demosthenes's activity, not to the date of his death.

10. *ad respectum immensi huius aevi*: pleonastic, for *ad immensum hoc aevum*.—*perquam breve et in proximo est*: the expression is zeugmatic. The *spatium* is short, but it is the *aetas Demosthenis* which is *near at hand*.

11. *in Hortensio*: a lost treatise of Cicero written in defense of

et verus annus, quo eadem positio caeli siderumque,
quae cum maxime est, rursum existet, isque annus
horum quos nos vocamus annorum **XIIDCCCCLIIII**
complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos
veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno
17 quo nos, sed iam eodem mense extitisse. Sed transeo
ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto,
Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum tem-
porum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et
Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium
2 et Messallam; quos quid antiquis temporibus potius
adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cice-
rone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus,
ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus Decembres

philosophy. It was dedicated to the orator Hortensius; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* I. 2 *eo libro quo a nobis philosophia defensa et collaudata est, cum esset accusata et vituperata ab Hortensio.* — **magnus et verus annus:** called the Platonic year, the period required for the sun, moon, and the five planets known to the ancients, to return to the same relative positions which they occupy at any given time. See Cic. *Nat. D.* II. 51. Modern mathematicians reckon the period at over 25,000 years, — twice that given by Tacitus. — *cum maxime, just now.* — *incipit Demosthenes vester:* 'then you begin to see that your Demosthenes.' — **veterem et antiquum:** for the synonyms see 7 above and 1. 4 n.

17. Menenium Agrippam: consul 503 B.C. By telling the fable of The Belly and the Members he induced the plebeians, who had seceded to the Mons Sacer, to return to Rome. — **Caelium:**

M. Caelius Rufus, 82–48 B.C., famed as an orator and advocate. He was a friend of Cicero, by whom he was defended in the extant oration, *pro Caetio.* — **Calvum:** Gaius Licinius Calvus, 82–47 B.C., a rival of Cicero, noted also as a poet and the friend of Catullus. — **Brutum:** the conspirator, 95–42 B.C. On his oratory see 21. 10. — **Asinium, Messallam:** see 12. 7 n. — *quid, why;* rarely so used in indirect questions.

2. Hirtio et Pansa consulibus: 43 B.C. In the case of well-known consuls the *praenomen* may be omitted; the names are then connected by *et* or *que.* — **Tiro:** M. Tullius Tiro, the freedman and attached friend of Cicero, whose biography he also wrote. — *scripsit:* common usage would here require *scribit*; cf. 16. 11. Perhaps it is used in the sense *has written.* — **septimo Idus Decembres:** i.e. *septimo die ante Idus Decembres* (Dec. 7th).

occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue 3 sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit, adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem, quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse 4 ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fatebatur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni et

3. **quibus**: here denoting duration,—a construction originating in the colloquial language, and afterwards adopted in literature. — **mox** = *deinde*, — a common meaning in post-Augustan writers. — **Tiberii tres et viginti**: from August, 14 A.D. to March, 37 A.D. — **Gai**: Caligula, who reigned from March, 37 A.D. to January, 41 A.D. — **bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos**: from January, 41 A.D. to June, 68 A.D. — **longum et unum annum**: from the accession of Galba in June, 68 A.D. to the proclamation of Vespasian as Emperor in July, 69 A.D.; **longum** is used in the sense of *eventful*. — **sextam iam**: 74 or 75 A.D.; see Intr. p. xiv. — **stationem**: here apparently in the sense of *year*, a figurative use occurring nowhere else. — **centum et viginti anni**: from December, 43 B.C. to the end of 74 A.D. or the beginning of 75 A.D. could not at the most be more than 116 full years; but Aper refers to the period of 120 years for a special purpose, viz., because it was regarded by the Romans as

the utmost limit of human life (*unius hominis aetas*). See Trebellius Pollio *Vita Claud.* 2 *dotissimi mathematicorum centum et viginti annos homini ad vivendum datus indicant, neque amplius cuiquam uitant esse concessos*; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* IV. 653 *natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est*; cf. Pliny *N. H.* VII. 154 *Arganthonius octoginta annos regnasse prope certum est. Putant quadragesimo coepisse*; Cic. *de Sen.* 69 *Quid est in hominis vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus; fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gidibus, qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat*. Aper's point, therefore, is that the sum total of the reigns enumerated *does not exceed 120 years*, the utmost limit of human existence. — **in hunc diem**: i.e. to the present time. — **colliguntur, are made out**. In this sense the word is post-Augustan and rare; cf. *Cer.* 37 *ducenti et ferme decem anni colliguntur*.

4. **fatebatur**: post-Augustan for *dicebat*. — **ei pugnae**: viz., in

- 5 arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum qui armatus C. Caesari restitit vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, et Caesarem quidem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et
 6 nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes, qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse [nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit], ne dividatis saeculum et antiquos ac veteres vocitatis oratores, quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt
 18 Haec ideo praedixi, ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Laelio aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito anti-

the first invasion, 55 B.C. See Caes. B. G. IV. 23 ff. — *pellere*: here for *depellere*, the simple verb for the compound; cf. 19. 1 *flexisse* (for *deflexisse*), 30. 8 *cluditur* (for *includitur*).

5. *ita*: for *itaque*, as 34. 5; 36. 8. — *Caesarem ipsum*: i.e. the very Caesar against whom he had fought in Britain. — *actionibus*: post-Augustan for *orationibus*. So also 32. 5.

6. *proximo congiario*: such a donation had been given in 73 A.D. in the name of Titus. — *divo quoque Augusto*: i.e. as well as recently. On the position of *quoque* cf. Ann. XIV. 20 *Gnaeum quoque Pompeium*. — *in medium usque*, etc.: see App. — *ne dividatis*: before these words supply in thought: ‘This I say.’ — *antiquos ac ve-*

teres, etc.: literally *lest you call those orators old and ancient, whom the ears of the same generation (eorundem) might have joined and united* (with the present).

18. *praedixi, premised*; in this sense ante-classical and post-Augustan. — *temporibus*: dat.; *for their age*. — *in medio sitam*: i.e. belonging to the following (or present) generation, as well as to the preceding. — *Servio Galbae*: consul 144 B.C., the foremost orator of his day. Cicero, *de Or.* I. 40, says of him, *divinum hominem in dicendo*. — *C. Laelio*: the well-known friend of the younger Scipio. He was consul 140 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 83, characterizes his oratory. — *C. Carboni*: consul 120 B.C. See 34. 8 n.

quos vocaverimus; / sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus; hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est; ^{per obseruac.} vicio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num

2. **agere enim fortius volo**, etc.: 'for I wish to speak out (lit. *act*) more vigorously presently, after first premising, etc.' Aper here announces the attack which he is proposing to make upon the orators of the Ciceronian age (see the next chapter). First, however, he wishes to explain that modern oratory is but the legitimate out-growth of the earlier, — not an inferior product.—*illud*: explained by *mutari*, etc. — *si ante praedixero*: pleonastic, as 28. 4, *si prius pauca praedixero*. In both passages *si* possesses a temporal rather than a conditional force.

3. **Catoni**: Cato the Elder, or the Censor, consul 195 B.C. He was the first Roman to publish his speeches. Cicero was acquainted with over one hundred and fifty of these, and in *Brut.* 61 calls Cato the best of the early orators.— **C. Gracchus**: the famous popular agitator. He was

tribunus plebis 123 and 122 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 125, characterizes him in the same language as that here employed by Tacitus, *uoli cum future quenquam pleniorum et uberiorum ad dicendum suisse*.—**Crassus**: consul 95 B.C.; distinguished both for his learning and the perfection of his style.—*distinctior, clearer*.—*elaboratus*: of persons only here.

4. **qui disertissimus**: for the omission of the verb cf. *Germ.* 9. *unus causa et origo parum compert*. — *interim*: i.e. for the time being.—*probasse contentus sum*: see Intr. p. xx. — *vultum, type*. — *nec statim*: i.e. we are not immediately to conclude that a thing is inferior, etc.

5. **num dubitamus inventos**: i.e. in the time of Cato. *Dubitare* in this sense, when combined with a negative, is usually followed in the Ciceronian age by a *quin-clause*. The use of the inf. is not frequent

dubitamus inventos, qui præc. ^{disc.} Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? / Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens ^{disparsus} ^{incomparab.} ^{hard} 6 et parum Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere, Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum, Brutum autem otiosum atque ^{lascivum} ^{discrepant} diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius 7 verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque clumbem. Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse; sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19 Nam (quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut

till the post-Augustan period.—
præc. Catone magis: the redundancy arises from a combination of two forms of expression: *præc. Catone* and *Catone magis*.—
Appium Caecum: Appius Claudius Caecus, consul 307 B.C. In Cicero's time the speech was still extant by which Appius had induced the Senate to reject the terms of peace proposed by Pyrrhus in 280 B.C.—
inflatus et tumens: these criticisms on Cicero's style are referred to by Quintilian, XII. 10. 12, in similar language, *tumidiorem et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium*.—
pressus, concise, as in 2. 4.—
exsultans, diffuse. So Quintilian, XIII. 10. 12.—
parum Atticus: the Romans distinguished three schools of oratory, the Attic, the Asiatic, and the Rhodian. Cicero was classed with the last. The Attic style was concise, the Asiatic redundant, while the Rho-

dian represented a compromise between the two.

6. **Calvi et Bruti epistulas**: these letters have not come down to us.—**aridum**: cf. *de Or.* II. 159 *genus sermonis exile, aridum*.—
otiosum: in this sense frequently applied to *sermo (idle talk)*, but here transferred to the speaker to characterize one who indulges in trite and superfluous assertions.

7. **a Calvo male audisse, was criticised by Calvus**; cf. the Greek *κακώς ἀκούειν ὑπό τούς*.—
tamquam, as being. See 2. 1 n.—
fractum atque clumbem, feeble and lame. *Elumbis* is not elsewhere found.

19. **nam**: introducing the reason for the statement made at the close of the preceding chapter, *omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse*.—
quatenus = quoniam. See 5. 3 n.—
admiratores: a post-Augustan word.—**hunc terminum**:

terminum antiquitatis constituere solent) Cassium Severum, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab illa vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transculisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendō, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vedit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille 3 populus ut imperitus et rūdis impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat, si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris præcipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus

viz. Cassius Severus.—**Cassium Severum:** he lived from about 50 B.C. to 37 A.D. Though of low origin and without principle, he possessed brilliant oratorical gifts. By abandoning the manner of his predecessors and adopting a more ornate style of oratory he marked an epoch in the history of Roman eloquence.—*flexisse*: here neuter, and in the sense of *deflexisse*. See 17. 4 n.—*intellectu*, *insight*. The word is post-Augustan. Earlier writers use *intelligentia*.

2. *namque*: not used as a positive particle until the Augustan era.—*aurium, taste*.

3. *impeditissimarum*, *cum-brous*, i.e. long and tedious.—*spatia*: in pregnant sense, = *magna spatia*.—*si dicendo quis diem eximeret*: cf. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* II. 1. 3 *Clodius dicendo diem eximere recipit*. These long speeches were often intended to delay legislative action by protracting a meeting

till sunset, at which hour an adjournment was necessary. On the subjv. of ‘indefinite repetition’ in *eximeret*, see Gr. 311, 5. So also below *videretur* and *insereret*.

4. *iam vero, moreover*.—longa principiorum praeparatio, long preparatory introductions.—narrationis alte repetita series: ‘the thread of a story running far back.’—mille argumentorum gradus, a thousand steps to the argument.—**Hermagorae**: there were two rhetoricians of this name. One was a contemporary of Cicero, and the author of a system of rhetorical instruction which enjoyed great repute. The other lived under Augustus. It is the former, probably, who is here referred to.—**Apollodori**: a distinguished rhetorician of Pergamum, and the teacher of the young Octavius.—*odoratus*: sc. esse, to have got a *whiff of*, i.e. a smattering. The word occurs only

philosophiam videretur atque ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur.

5 Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecēpta rhetorum

6 aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At hercule per vulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate,

- non iure et legibus cognoscunt nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem, dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festi-

20 nare se testantur. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? Quis quinque in Verrem libros

here in this sense.—locum: (sc. communem), commonplace. Loci communes are passages which do not deal with arguments peculiar to an individual case, but are of general application; cf. Cic. *de Inv.* II. 47 pars (*argumentorum*) est pervagatior et aut in omnis eiusdem generis aut in plerasque causas accommodata; haec ergo argumenta, quae transferri in multas causas possunt, locos communis nominamus; *de Or.* III. 107; Quint. II. 1. 9.

5. haec: *i.e.* the various rhetorical refinements above enumerated.

6. cortina: lit. a vessel, cauldron, here apparently used of some place where the general public gathered to witness trials. Some refer it to the curved apse of a basilica or law court.—itineribus, methods. In this sense pre-

Augustan writers usually employ via, not iter, e.g. Cic. *Or.* 114 duplēcēm habuit docendi viam.—cognoscunt: here used absolutely of judicial procedure. So also 41. 6 *elementia cognoscentis*; *Hist.* IV. 42 *cognosceret senatus*; Pliny *E.p.* I. 10. 10.—acciipiunt: *i.e.* the judges do not follow the speaker's wishes as to the extent of time to be granted, but determine it (constituunt) themselves.—dum illi libeat, etc.: 'until he gets ready to come to the point.'—ultra admonent: 'take occasion to remind him'; cf. 39. 4 *quia saepe index interrogat quando incipias*.—alio transgredientem: conative, attempting to digress.—festinare: used absolutely.

20. principia Corvini: Quintilian also mentions such *exordia* (IV. 1. 8), yet commends them as

exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetetur illa immensa volumina, quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore index dicentem et, nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiарum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum vitiatus et corruptus est, aversatur. Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis, nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Q. Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum

4

well-advised.—*quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit, will hear to the end five speeches against a Verres;* alluding to the five speeches of the so-called *actio secunda* of Cicero against Verres. These were in reality never delivered, since Verres withdrew into voluntary exile at the conclusion of the *actio prima*. Cicero, nevertheless, published the orations as though they had been delivered before the judges; hence their length probably did not exceed the usual standard.—*de exceptione et formula:* *formula* was the name of the formal instructions given by the praetor to the judge who tried a case. For a given class of cases the same standing *formula* was regularly employed. But exception (*exceptio*) might be taken to the *formula* by the accused, if circumstances could be shown to warrant such a procedure; *de exceptione et formula* is, therefore, a hendiadys, ‘long pleas on exceptions to the instructions.’—*pro M. Tullio:* Cicero delivered two speeches *pro M. Tullio*. Only fragments remain.—*Aulo Caecina:* this oration is preserved,

and is only a half longer than the oration for the Manilian Law.

2. *praeccurrit dicentem, anticipates the speaker.* For the use of the participle as substantive see 6. 6 n. — *hoc tempore, to-day.* — *cursu:* in pregnant sense, *rapid progress.* Note the assyllabation in *cursu, colore, cultu, corruptus.* — *sententiарum:* see 5 n. — *descriptionum, delineations, characterizations;* cf. Cic: *Topica* 83 *descriptio, quam χαρακήπει Graci vocant, qualis sit avarus, qualis adscitator, veteraque eiusdem generis, in quibus natura describitur.*

3. *adsistentium:* i.e. *audientium.* — *adfluens et vagus, coming and going.* — *impexam, uncouth.* — *Q. Roscii:* the famous comedian, a friend of Cicero, who defended him 76 B.C. in the oration *pro Q. Roscio comoedo*. — *Turpionis Ambivii:* another eminent comic actor and theatrical manager. He was intimately associated with the poet Terence (about 165 B.C.) and assisted him in bringing out his plays. — *exprimere, imitate.* So also 23. 1; 26. 3.

4. *iuvenes et . . . positi:* only one class of persons is referred to.

incude positi, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid
 5 inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effusit
 6 sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum
 7 aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae, quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum tempora credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis exstruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

The *et* is explanatory, and simply adds another characteristic; cf. 33. 3 *iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri*.—*in ipsa studiorum incude positi*: i.e. still engaged in their preparatory studies; cf. the figurative use of *incus* in Hor. A. P. 441 *et male tornatos incudi reddere versus*.—*profectus*, *proficiency*. *Profectus* as a prose word is post-Augustan. It is found also 41. 4.

5. *tradunt in vicem*: post-Augustan for *tradunt sibi* or *inter se*; cf. 25. 8.—*sensus*, *sentence*, *period*; a post-Augustan usage.—*arguta*, *bright*, *clever*, as frequently in Cicero's rhetorical works.—*sententia*, *sentiment*.

6. *Accii et Pacuvii*: famous Roman tragic poets. They flourished in the second century B.C. In their desire to imitate Greek diction they disfigured their works with many bold words, which soon

became obsolete; hence the expression *veterno inquinatus*, *disfigured with the rubbish* (literally the *mould* or *rust*). *Veterno* in this sense is post-Augustan and rare.—*Lucani*: a nephew of Seneca, and the author of the *Pharsalia*, an unfinished epic on the second civil war. He lived from 39 to 65 A.D.

7. *quid enim*, etc., *for what would people say, if you should think, etc.*?—*rudi caemento*, *plain concrete*.—*marmore nitent et auro radiantur*: with the age of Augustus began an era of magnificent building. Augustus himself was wont to boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. Suet. Aug. 28. After the conflagration in Nero's reign an era of still greater magnificence was inaugurated, whose glory was still undiminished at the time of the *Dialogus*.

Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam **21**
 antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum
 tenere. Nec unum de populo nominabo, Canutium aut **2**
Arrium vel **Furnios** et **Toranios** quosque alios in eodem
 valetudinario haec ossa et haec macies probant. Ipse **3**
 mihi **Calvus**, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros
 reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit.
 Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video; quotus **4**
 enim quisque **Calvi** in **Asitium** aut in **Drusum** legit?
 At hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur **5**
 accusationes quae in **Vatinium** inscribuntur, ac praecipue
 secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et **6**
 sententiis, auribus iudicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum

21. fatebor: the future here for the present. This usage, which is not frequent, seems to be chiefly confined to the first singular of verbs of *saying, asking, replying*, etc., e.g. Cic. *de Domo* 18 *respondebo*; *pro Plancio* 89 *fatebor*. — *quibusdam*: probably masculine.

2. de populo: *i.e.* from the horde of mediocre orators. — **Canutium**: probably the P. Canutius mentioned by Cicero in the oration *pro Cuentio*. Cicero, *Brut.* 205, speaks in high terms of his oratorical abilities. — **Arrium**: Q. Arrius, a contemporary of Cicero, and opposed to him in the trial of Milo, 52 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 243, characterizes him as *sine doctrina, sine ingenio*. — **Furnios**: the name C. Furnius was borne by two persons, father and son. The former was a friend of Cicero, and was *tribunus plebis* 50 B.C. The younger was *consul* 17 B.C. Both were orators. — **Toranios**: there were also two Toranii, father and son. The former was at one time guardian of Octavius; Suet. *Aug.* 27.

— in **eodem valetudinario**: *sc. esse*. The expression is apparently proverbial; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 27. **tamquam in eodem valetudinario iaceamus**; — **haec ossa et haec macies**: *i.e.* this jejune and meagre style of composition. Latin writers are particularly fond of metaphors taken from the human body.

3. libros: published speeches, as in 12. 7. — **una et altera, one or two**; see 9. 6 n.

4. quotus quisque, how few. — **Calvi**: *sc. libros*. — in **Asitium aut in Drusum**: P. Asitius was prosecuted by Calvus on the charge of murdering an Egyptian ambassador, but was defended by Cicero and acquitted. The identity of Drusus is uncertain.

5. at hercule: these words introduce the opinion of an objector: 'But,' some one will urge, 'his speeches against Vatinius are much admired.' — **Vatinium**: P. Vatinius, a creature of Julius Caesar. He was prosecuted repeatedly by Calvus.

quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei, quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? Ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. / Sordes autem illae verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercle quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus (nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur): nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac temporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur; fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non

6. quo minus: to be connected with the notion of prevention involved in voluntatem defuisse: 'That no lack of good intentions prevented his speaking,' etc.; cf. 3. 4 saliant quo minus. On quo minus for quin see 3. 1 n.

7. Caelianis: the Caelius mentioned in 17. 1.

8. illae, that well-known.—hians compositio et inconditi sensus, disjointed structure and clumsy periods. For sensus cf. 20. 5 n.—redolent antiquitatem: so also Cic. Brut. 82.

9. antiquarium: first found in the *Dialogus* and used in different senses; here, old-fashioned; 37. 2 antiquary; 42. 3 admirer of the past.

10. cogitationum, projects.—rerum: sc. publicarum, affairs of state.—minus . . . postulabat: cf. Quint. X. 1. 114. C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non aliis ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur.—Brutum: see 17. 1 n.

11. nisi forte quisquam legit: equivalent to *nemo enim legit*.—pro Decio Samnite: nothing is known of this speech.—Bruti pro Deiotaro: Brutus defended Deiotarus before Caesar at Nicaea in 47 B.C.—lentitudinis ac temporis: only here as rhetorical terms.—nisi qui, other than those who.

12. bibliothecas: private libraries are meant. The first public

melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque quamquam propi-¹³ oribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse; Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit; adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem sicut corpus¹⁴ hominis ea demum pulchra est, in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum inse-¹⁵ qui, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret, et videmus in quantum iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aqua-²² libus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim²

library at Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio after his triumph over the Dalmatians in 39 B.C.—non melius quam Cicero: Cicero's poetical works excited much ridicule. One of the chief of these was a poem on his consulship, containing the famous jingle: *o fortunatum natam me consule Romanum*; cf. Quint. XI. 1, 24 in carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni.—illos fecisse pauciores sciunt: Augustus with wise discrimination is said to have prohibited the publication of Caesar's poetical effusions. Suet. *Caes.* 56.

^{13.} quamquam natus sit: for the subjv. with *quamquam* see Intr. p. xx.—Menenios et Appios: already mentioned in 17. 1; 18. 5.—studuisse: absolutely, to have pursued his studies; a post-Augustan usage; cf. 34. 3.—ex-

pressit, copied, as in 20. 3.—durus et siccus, harsh and dry; *siccus* in this sense is post-Augustan.

^{14.} demum: i.e. then and then only.—temperatus, well-mixed, i.e. pure, healthy.—exsurgit toris, swells in the muscles; *toris* is probably the ablative of place,—a poetic use justified by the figurative language of the passage; cf. 13. 8 *tumulo*.

^{15.} nec per ipsum stetit, etc., it was by no means his fault that he failed to attain, etc. Aper gives two reasons for judging Corvinus leniently. In the first place his defects were not his own fault, but the fault of his time; secondly, his powers were not commensurate with his taste (iudicio).—quo minus: after the notion of hindering involved in *per ipsum stetit*, as above in section 6.—in quantum: i.e. how little; see 2. 4 n.

antiquos mirabantur; ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis oratores eiusdem
 3 aetatis praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usque et experimentis
 4 didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalesceat; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur;
 5 nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio firmus sane paries est et duraturus, sed non
 6 satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae non contantum volo tecto tegi quod imbre ac ventum arceat,

22. 2. oratores: sc. ceteros.

3. orationem: *i.e.* method of presentation. — locos laetiores: *i.e.* more ambitious passages; cf. 20. 5 *sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu erituit*. — sententias: as in 20. 5. — quas senior composuit: such as the *pro Ligario*, *pro Milone*, and the *Philippics*. Quintilian, IV. 1. 70, speaks in terms of special praise concerning the first of these. Plutarch also in his life of Cicero alludes to the power of the same oration. — iuxta finem: found only here in the sense of *sub finem*. — postquam profecerat: *postquam* with the pluperfect indicative, a construction rare in pre-Augustan Latin, occurs several times in Tacitus, e.g. 38. 4, and in the historical works.

4. priores: such as the speeches *pro Roscio Amerino*, *pro M. Tullio*, *pro A. Caecina*, etc. — circa, in respect to; a post-Augustan sense; cf. 3. 4 n. — excessus, digressions, used instead of the earlier *egressio* or *digressio*. — sensus, sentences, as in 20. 5. — apte: *i.e.* harmoniously, euphoniously. — cum quodam lumine, with a certain brilliancy, *i.e.* the employment of some striking figure.

5. nihil excerpere, etc.: 'there's nothing in these speeches that you care to pick out and take home with you.' With referre supply *domum*; cf. 20. 4. — duraturus, durable, the participle with adjective force, as in 9. 7, etc.

6. imbre ac ventum, wind and weather.

sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero 7 procul arceantur ut iam obliterata et obsoleta; nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inertis structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet. Nolo inridere 'rotam Fortunae' et 'ius 23 verrinum' et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum 'esse videatur.' Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium

7. in morem annalium: i.e. after the dry style of the chronicles. — **scurrilitatem**: not elsewhere used of style. — **nec**: for never, as in 13. 8. — **clausulas**: i.e. the concluding phrases of different sentences. — **uno et eodem modo**: i.e. with the same rhythmical cadence.

23. **rotam Fortunae**: from the oration in *Pisone* 22. — **ius verrinum**: alluding to Cicero's famous pun in *Verr.*, II. 1. 121 negabant esse mirandum, *ius tam nequam esse verrinum*, i.e. 'said it was no wonder that *ius verrinum* was such miserable stuff', where *ius verrinum* may mean either boar's sauce or *Verrine justice*. Aper gives this as a typical illustration of *scurrilitas* (buffoonery, cheap jesting). — **tertio quoque sensu**, *every other sentence*,—another illus-

tration of Aper's tendency to exaggerate. The phrase *esse videatur* occurs only ten times in the entire oration *pro lege Manilia*, and in twenty others it does not occur at all. — **pro sententia**: i.e. instead of an effective closing clause; cf. the use of *sententia* in 20. 5. — **exprimunt, copy**, as in 20. 3. The figure seems borrowed from the sculptor's or founder's art.

2. **significasse contentus**: cf. 18. 4 n. — **Lucilium**: the founder of Roman Satire. He was a native of Campania, and lived from 180 to 103 B.C. Quintilian, X. 1. 93, speaks of the high esteem in which Lucilius was still held by many in his day. — **Lucretium**: author of the famous didactic poem *de Rerum Natura*, an exposition of the Epicurean philosophy. He lived from about 98 to 55 B.C. —

pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commen-
 3 tarios fastidiunt et oderunt, Calvi mirantur; quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieunio conse-
 4 quuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse: fortem et laetum et alacrem volo; prope abest ab infirmitate, in quo sola sanitas
 5 laudatur. Vos vero, viri disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere
 6 dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video lactissima quae- que antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum

eloquentia, style. — Bassi, Noniani: representatives of recent historical composition. Both died in the reign of Nero. — *ex comparatione, in comparison with that of;* a post-Augustan usage. — Sisenna, Varronis: Sisenna (119 to 67 B.C.) was the author of a history of his own time, composed in an archaic style. M. Terentius Varro (116 to 27 B.C.) was famous as an historian, antiquarian and philologist. Quintilian, X. 1. 95, declares him more valuable for his learning than his style. — *commentarios:* here and in 26.4 in the sense of *sample speeches*. These were also often called *declamationes*; *commentarius* designates the published form. The usage is post-Augustan. — *fastidiunt et oderunt:* the same phrase is found in Hor. *Eph.* II. 1. 22.

3. *quos: i.e. eos qui se antiques oratores vocant.* — *fabulantes:* contemptuously for *dientes*. — *non auditores sequuntur:* they cannot hold the attention of their audiences. — *adeo maesti, etc.:* ‘in fact so dismal and plain is their mode of expression, that it is by a kind of rhetorical dieting (ieunio), so to speak, not by any innate vigor (firmitas), that they attain their much-vaunted soundness of style.’

4. *porro, moreover.* — *animi anxietate:* implying that the imitators of the earlier orators avoid every deviation from their chosen models as scrupulously as persons of a feeble constitution avoid any unusual exercise. — *prope abest,* he is very near to.

6. *sensuum, thoughts, the same as sententiarum below.* —

miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea, quotiens causa poscit, ubertas, ea, quotiens permittit, brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis ut, etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Adgnoscitisne' inquit 24
 Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est, per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum 2 tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet; neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis 3 quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem efficiat ratio temporum.'

*planitas, clearness; only here in this sense; cf. Cic. *Topica* 97 *narrationes ut plane sint. — nostra iudicia*: i.e. the judgment of the present day.*

24. torrente, stream of eloquence.
 — quanto ingenio ac spiritu mutuatus est: zeugma; mutuatus est applies strictly to eruditione et arte alone. With ingenio ac spiritu supply in thought *locutus est*. — *ab ipsis, ipsos*: the repetition is for emphasis.

2. *tuum promissum, etc.*: 'it cannot be that he has shaken your resolution.' For the promise see 16. 3.

3. *saepe celebrato*: note the pleonasm.

4. *igitur*: at the beginning of the sentence, as almost invariably in Tacitus. See 3. 1 n. — *cum praesertim*: elliptical, 'an astonishing fact, especially since, etc.' — *centum et viginti annos*: i.e. only that many. See 17. 3 n.

25 Tum Messalla: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro. Qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur, quos satis 2 constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est: sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellat, dum modo in confessu sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam 3 fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno qua quasi minus nisus fatetur plures formas dicendi 4 etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis, exstisset. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium tamen 5 concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros corundem temporum

25. *formam, plan.* — *neque diu, at no great length; diu as in 11. 1.* — *nominis controversiam:* i.e. the discussion about the word *antiqui*. — *controversiam movit:* cf. 16. 1 *questionem movisti.* — *tamquam:* see 10. 4 n. — *centum:* the round number, instead of *centum et viginti* as above.

2. *sive illos antiquos . . . appellet, let him call them 'antiqui,' or 'maiores,' or by any other name he prefers.* — *in confessu sit:* a post-Augustan form of expression; cf. *Agr. 1 in aperito.*

3. *illi parti sermonis:* alluding particularly to the thoughts contained in 18. 4 *in illis quoque, quos vocatis antiquos plures species reprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est.* — *qua quasi minus nisus, where, coming to close quarters, so to speak; continuing the figure begun in pugna,*

repugno. Messalla means that Aper, after a preliminary skirmish about the meaning of *antiqui*, had at last grappled with his subject. On the expression *minus nisus* cf. *Ann. IV. 51 adversum resistenter minus nisi.* — *fatetur:* post-Augustan for *dicit*, as in 17. 4. — *formas dicendi, styles of oratory.*

4. *quo modo:* rare before the Augustan era. The phrase usually takes the form *quem ad modum.* — *primae:* sc. *partes, the first place,* — originally a theatrical term, the leading rôle. — *haec oratorum aetas:* i.e. *horum oratorum aetas;* cf. 2. 1 *eo tragicae argumento.* Lysias preceded the other orators here mentioned by half a century or more; yet at a distance of four centuries Messalla does not hesitate to class him with the others.

5. *Cicero, Calvus, etc.:* this

disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, **6** nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarius Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero; omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae **7** praefuerunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias, quamvis in diversis ingenii esse quan-dam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod in vicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua **8** epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo **9** solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici; solum inter hos arbitror Brutum **10** non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenuo iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invidet, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod **11** ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet et si quos alios antiquiorum Aper agitare non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adulatae defuisse. Ceterum si **26**

list agrees with that previously given by Aper in 17. 1, except that Messalla here modestly omits to mention his own ancestor Messalla.

6. adstrictior, stricter in style.—**nervosior**: cf. Cic. Brut. 121 *quis Aristotele nervosior?*—**splendidior**: here apparently of clearness of style, for which Caesar is praised by both Cicero (*Brut.* 261) and Quintilian (X. 1. 114).—**gravior**: Quintilian also (XII. 10. 11) speaks of the *gravitas* of Brutus's style.

8. quod, as regards the fact that.
—**in vicem**: post-Augustan for *inter se*, as 20. 5; cf. Agr. 6 *in vicem se anteponendo*.

10. Brutum non malignitate . . . detexisse: zeugmatic. Supply in sense some such thought as *locutum esse*, or *iudicasse*.—**invidet**: the subj. is deliberative; Gr. 268.

11. exigit; as subj. understand *id*, to be supplied from **quod . . . attinet**.

omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercule C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros 2 Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et mere- 3 triciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercule ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compo- 4 sitionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos; 5 unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones 6 diserte saltare dicantur. Evidem non negaverim

26. C. Gracchi, L. Crassi: see 18. 3 n. — calamistros: literally *curling-irons*, but here in the figurative sense of *flourish, display*. — Maecenatis: the well-known patron of Horace. Augustus is said by Suetonius, *Aug.* 86, to have made much sport of Maecenas's affected style. — tinnitus, *jingles*. The word in this sense is poetical and post-Augustan. — Gallionis: a rhetorician of the Augustan age. He was a friend of the elder Seneca, and adopted the latter's oldest son.

2. vel: intensive.—hirta toga: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 262 *omni ornatu orationis tamquam ueste detracta*. — fucatis: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 162 *sine ullo fuso veritatis color*.

3. neque enim oratorius, etc., *for that style is not oratorical, in fact not even manly*. — plerique: here and below in the sense of *very many*. — actores: *for actores causarum, pleaders*. So frequently in Quintilian, e.g. II. 12. 11. — lasci-

*via verborum, frivolous language; lascivia only here in this sense. — levitate sententiarum, trivial notions; sententia as in 21. 6. — histrionales modos exprimant, copy the manners of the stage; histrionalis is found only here, 29. 3, and *Ann.* I. 16.*

4. debeat: subjv. of characteristic. — iactant cantari saltarique, etc.: Messalla has in mind the rhetoricians, who set their pupils such execrable models in declamation, that their delivery and gestures resembled singing and dancing. — *commentarios, sample speeches*, as in 23. 2.

5. exclamatio: here in the sense of an oft-repeated saying. — ut dicantur: explanatory of *exclamatio*. The construction, however, is peculiar, and the text is probably corrupt. — *tenere dicere, diserte saltare, speak gracefully, dance eloquently*; i.e. oratory has become so identified with acting

Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis; primus enim 7 contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et 8 varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio 9 et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus; nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores con- 10 tentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune, veritus, credo, ne multis

that the terms of the one art are applied to the other.

6. **Cassium Severum**: see 19.
10. — **plus bilis quam sanguinis**: Quintilian's characterization is nearly identical (X. 1. 117), *strenuo-
cho plus quam consilio dedit*.

7. **omissa modestia**, etc.: referring to the unseemly jests in which Severus is said to have indulged.—**armis incompositus, unskillful with the weapons**. Note the abundance of figures drawn from military affairs in the present passage: **armis**, **pugnat**, in aciem educere, agmen, opponeremus.—**plerumque, often**, as in 15. 4.—**deiectus**: for the fuller *de gradu deiectus*, a metaphor borrowed from the gladiatorial contests.—

8. **virium robore**: this collo-

cation is frequent in Livy, e.g. XXII. 40. 5.—**quorum neminem nominare sustinuit**: Aper had mentioned only Cassius Severus as representative of the modern school of oratory. Messalla contends that he should have cited not merely one such instance, but many(*agmen*).—men too who were the peers not only of Asinius, Calvus, and Caelius (whom he had disparaged), but of Caesar and Cicero.—**nominare et educere sustinuit**: in prose *sustinco* with the complementary inf. is post-Augustan. It occurs also *Hist. I. 37*.

9. **exspectabam ut produce-
ret, was waiting for him to bring
forward**; **ut in place of the com-
moner *num***.

10. **detrectasse contentus**:

11 offendeter, si paucos excerptisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, etsi plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis appareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27 'At parce' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confessu est, sed causas exquirimus, quas te solitum tractare dixisti, paulo ante plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offendeter maiores tuos lacessendo.'

2 'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri mei disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum affectus proferre.'

3 'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

the construction as in 18. 4; 23. 2.
—*si paucos excerptisset*: *i.e.*
if he should single out a few to
praise.

II. *scholasticorum*: here of
the teachers of rhetoric, as regu-
larly. For a different use see 15. 5.
—*persuasione, notion*, explained
by *ut numeret*. This sense of
the word is post-Augustan. —
etsi plane post Gabinianum:
Sex. Julius Gabinianus was a native
of Gaul, and famous as a rho-
tician in the reign of Vespasian.
The common estimate of his
merits in this age seems to have
been as much too high as that of
Cicero was too low.

27. *parce*: *sc. nominare singu-
los*. — *colligi*, to be shown. — *in
confesso est*: as in 25. 2. —
te solitum tractare dixisti: viz.
in 15. 4 f. — *maiores tuos* (*sc.
oratores*): 'the orators of old whom
you admire'; cf. 25. 2 *sive illos
antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio
marvult nomine appellat*. On this
use of *tuus* cf. 14. 3 *pro carminibus
suis*.

a. perstringat, grate on. — *citra
damnum affectus, without loss
of good feeling*; *affectus* in this
sense is post-Augustan. On the
post-Augustan use of *citra* for *sine*,
cf. 41. 8 *citra obtrectationem*; *Agr. I
citra fidem*.

Et Messalla : 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas 28
 requiris nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic
 Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi
 in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat 2
 et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere
 gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuuentutis et
 neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et
 oblivione moris antiqui? Quae mala primum in urbe 3
 nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant.
 Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt : ego de urbe et 4
 his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos
 statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumu-
 lantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum
 circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero.
 Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, 5
 non in cella emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu
 matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri
 domum et inservire liberis ; aut eligebatur maior 6

28. aut, aut, vel : the conjunctions aut, aut are employed to distinguish Maternus (the person addressed) from Secundus and Aper (who are less directly interested); vel connects Secundo and Apro.—etiam si : closely dependent upon nec ignotas.

2. *praecipientium*=*praecepto-rum*, in accordance with the frequent post-Augustan use of the participle as a noun of agency. This usage is especially frequent where, as here, the use of the participial form avoids ambiguity : *praecceptorum* might be the genitive of *praecepta*, as well as of *praecceptores*.

4. *vestra*: 'the condition of affairs in your own province,' viz. Gaul. Maternus, Aper and Secun-

dus were probably all of Gallic origin. See Intr. p. xx ff.—*urbe* : i.e. *Roma*. — *his* = *nostris*; cf. 7. 4 *hic tonatus populus*. — *prius praedixerero*: pleonastic like 18. 2 *ante praedixerero*. — *severitate ac disciplina* : hendiadys for *severitate disciplinae*, the expression used at the close of chapter 29. — *circa*, with *respect to*, as in 22. 4. The gerundive construction with *circa* is rare.

5. *pridem, formerly*. — *emptae nutricis*: *hired wet nurse*. — *in gremio ac sinu* : cf. Agr. 4 *mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis: in huins sinu indulgentiaque educatus*. — *tueri domum* : cf. the characteristic epitaph of a Roman matron, *domum servavit, lanam fecit*.

- aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque
 - moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur, coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur.
- 7 Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam
 - lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia
 8 temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti matrem praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus.
- 9 Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et
 - integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas et, sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriet.
- 29 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus

6. **cuius, qua** : both pronouns refer to *propinqua*; 'in whose presence the children were prevented from doing and saying what was bad.' Andresen less naturally refers *qua* to *suboles*.

7. **temperabat** : *sc. mater*.

8. **Corneliam** : the daughter of Scipio Africanus Major and mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.

— **Aureliam** : daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta, and mother of Julius Caesar.—**Atia** : niece of Julius Caesar (being daughter of his sister Julia and M. Atius Balbus) and mother of Augustus.—**educationibus** : the plural also in *Ann. III. 25.*—**principes** : predicatively, *to be leaders*. — **produ-**

*xisse, brought up; post-Augustan and rare; cf. Juv. 14. 228 *pueros avaros producit, brings up boys to be avaricious.**

9. **et nullis** : see 12. 2 n.—**inclinasset** : subjv. by attraction.

29. **natus, at birth**.—**Graeculae** : the diminutive implies contempt; cf. 3. 5 *Graeculorum fabulis*.—**unus aut alter** : see 9. 6 n.—**ex omnibus servis** : *i.e.* one taken at random from the whole body, not chosen with care from the most trustworthy.—**cuiquam** : here an adjective. This use is rare and is confined chiefly to post-Augustan writers; cf. Quint. X. 2. 6 *cuiusquam rei*.

2. **fabulis, nursery tales**.—**erro-**

virides statim et teneri animi imbuuntur, nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet, quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes non probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, — lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia — inrexit [et sui alienique contemptus]. Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia, quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque invenies qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adolescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem

ribus: here apparently meaning *vagaries, superstitions*. — *virides et teneri*, *white fresh and plastic*. For this use of *viridis* cf. Verg. *Aen.* V. 295 *Euryalus forma insigni viridique iuventu*; Ovid *Tristia* IV. 10. 17 *viridi auro*. — *in tota domo*: the prep. with *totus* occurs also *Hist.* I. 4 *in toto orbe terrarum*. — *nec quisquam pensi habet*, *nor has any one a care*. *pensi* is genitive of value; Gr. 252 b. — *infante domino*, *the young master*. — *non, neque*: more emphatic than *neque, neque*. So repeatedly in the *Dialogus*, e.g. 12. 1 *non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore*. — *dicacitati, sauciness*: only here in Tacitus. In Cicero the word is employed in the sense of banter, raillery, e.g. *de Or.* II. 218. So also in Quintilian, e.g. VI. 3. 29.

3. *propria et peculiaria*: alliteration. — *paene in utero . . . videntur*: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III. 1. 2 *nunc autem simul atque editi in lucem et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate . . . versamur, ut*

paene cum lacte nutricis errorem sussisse videamus. — *histrionalis favor*: the adjective here has the force of an objective genitive. — *gladiatorum equorumque studia*: brachiology for interest in the contests of gladiators and horses. The Romans of the imperial era took the most extravagant interest in games and spectacles of every sort. — *quibus occupatus et obsessus animus*, *the preoccupation of their minds with which*; cf. 37. 7 *Quintilius defensus*.

4. *quidquam aliud loquatur*: sc. *quam histriones, gladiatores, equos*. *Loqui* with the accusative (as opposed to *de* with the ablative, e.g. 28. 4 *ego de urbe loquar*) means to have always on one's lips, e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* IX. 13. 8 *merum bellum loquitur, talks nothing but war*; cf. our 'talk horse, talk shop.'

5. *ne praeceptores, etc.*: notice the climax: the boys talk of actors, gladiators and races at home, they talk of the same matters at school, and even the teachers

ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30 Transeo prima dissentium elementa, in quibus et 2 ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur; 3 sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant. Quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit statim dicturus, referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cottidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum

themselves talk oftener of such subjects than of any others; *crebriores* is used predicatively.—*ingenii experimento*, by giving proof of their talent for teaching.—*ambitione salutationum*: i.e. they even pay court to their pupils by making morning calls upon them.

30. *transeo* = *praetermitto*, *omitto*; a usage not frequent until the post-Augustan era.—in *quibus et ipsis*, on which very subjects also. *Et ipse* occurs again in 37. 4.

2. *auctoribus*: i.e. *scriptoribus*; a post-Augustan usage.—in *evolvenda antiquitate*: the past is thought of as a book which is unrolled as it is read.—*quos rhetoras vocant*, *socalled rhetoricians*. The expression implies con-

tempt; cf. 35. 1 *in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur*.

3. *quorum professio*, etc.: upon their first appearance at Rome (*paulo ante tempora Ciceronis*, see 35. 1) the rhetoricians were not favorably received, and in 92 B.C. were compelled by the censors to close their schools.—*statim dicturus*: Messalla does this in 35. 1 f. — *prius referam necesse est animum*, I must first direct your attention.—*infinitus labor*, etc.: i.e. the account of them.

4. *qui Brutus inscribitur*: Cicero's famous work on the history of celebrated orators. It was composed in 46 B.C., three years before the orator's death.—*extrema parte*: beginning at 305 of the *Brutus*.

habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius 5 civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum, quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem completeretur. Itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius artis ingenuae scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditio 6 et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque orationis 7 vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum

5. **Q. Mucium:** Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the augur, Cic. *Brut.* 306. —**Philonem:** Philo of Larissa, the Academic philosopher, who during the First Mithridatic War (88 B.C.) fled from Athens to Rome, where Cicero gladly availed himself of his instruction.—**Diodotum:** Cicero's teacher in dialectics, geometry, and natural science. His last years were spent in Cicero's house, where he died 59 B.C. —**quorum copia, access to whom.** —**Achaiam quoque et Asiam:** i.e. Greece and Asia Minor. After the capture of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. all of Greece south of Thessaly and Epirus was formed into a province under the name of Achaia. Cicero spent two years (79 to 77 B.C. in this tour of study.—

omnem omnium artium varietatem: for the redundancy cf. 6. 4 *summa rerum omnium abundantia*; Cic. *de Or.* III. 72 *omnem omnium rerum cognitionem*.

6. **dialecticae, etc.:** the three great divisions of ancient philosophy were dialectics, moral philosophy and natural science; cf. Quint. XII. 2. 10 *naturalem, moralem, rationalem*. — **moralis partis, of the moral division,** i.e. of the province of morals.

8. **cluditur = includitur;** see 17. 4 n. — **orator:** i.e. in the full sense of that term; cf. 15. 1; Cic. *de Or.* I. 64 *is erit orator qui, quaecumque res incident, quae sit dictio explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornata et memoriter dicet cum quadam actionis etiam dignitate.*

apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accendentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputationatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate disserimus, ita tamen ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur; de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et habet intellectum corum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus excitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud

tate. — ad utilitatem temporum: i.e. in a way to take advantage of the circumstances.

31. *opus esse ut:* a rare construction, occurring several times in Plautus and not appearing again until Tacitus's day. — *fictis controversiis:* examples of such are given at the end of chapter 35. — *nec ullo modo, and in nomine.*

2. *in iudiciis:* Tacitus follows the traditional division of oratory into legal, parliamentary, and eulogistic; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 141. Note

that *sequitatem* corresponds to *iusto et iniusto;* *utilitate* to *bonis et malis;* and *honestate* to *honesto et turpi.* — *in vicem: i.e. inter se.* See 20. 5 n.

3. *vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum:* note the alliteration. Intr. p. xxii. — *quae . . . numerantur:* called by the Stoics *διάθεση.*

4. *illa:* explained by the following *ut-clauses.*

5. *cupidos, partial,* as opposed to *infestos;* cf. Cic. *in Verrem*

invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum et prout cuiusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos. Dabunt Academicci pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne

II. 2. 12 *quaestores vehementer cupidos*, i.e. partisans of Verres. The principle of selection followed in the employment of the five adjectives in this sentence is not clear. Only the first two are antithetical. — *dicendum habuerit*, shall have to speak. For the idiom see 8. 3 n. — *tenebit venas*: this and the following figures are drawn from the physician's art. — *venas*: i.e. the key to. — *cuiusque*: sc. *iudicis infesti sive cupidi*, etc. — *temperabit orationem*: as though mixing some potion in due proportions.

6. *adstrictum et collectum*: synonyms. The metaphor is taken from a closely fitting garment. *Collectus* occurs only here in this sense of *concise, condensed*. — *meretur*: here in the sense of *wins, secures*, without any notion of desert. This usage is not uncommon in Silver Latin; cf. *Agr. 4* *tisque ipsis virtutibus iram C. Caesaris meritus*; *Ger. 14* *vulnera mereri*. The use of the indicative for the subjunctive after *sunt qui* is to be noted. The only

other instance of this in Tacitus is *Agr. 28* *suere quos indicium tanti casus instruxerat*.

7. *fusa, aequalis, ducta*: the figure is drawn from fluids. — *communibus sensibus*: i.e. the common instincts of human nature; cf. Cic. *de Or. III. 195* *quod ea sunt in communibus infixi sensibus nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura voluit esse expertem*; Hor. *Sat. I. 3. 65* *nolestus, communis sensu plane caret*.

8. *locos*: the *rōta* treated of by Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic School, in his *Toruká*. These *loci* are not the *loci communes* of 19. 4, but topics under which one may discover arguments suited to particular cases. Cicero's *Topica* deals with this subject.

9. *Academicci pugnacitatem*: Arcesilaus, the chief representative of the New Academy, laid down as a fundamental principle, that one should not so much defend one's own view, as strive to shatter the view of an opponent. — *altitudinem, sublimitatem*. — *Xenophon iucunditatem*: the charm of Xeno-

Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamations adsumere iisque prout res poscit uti alienum erit
 10 oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed cum qui quasdam artes haurire,
 omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam
 veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica
 11 geometria imbuebantur: incident enim causae, plurimae
 quidem ac paene omnes, in quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem, in quibus haec quoque scientia
 32 requiritur. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad
 2 tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis,

phon's style has been recognized in all ages; cf. Quint. X. 1. 28 *quid ego commemorem Xenophontis in-cuditatem in affectum?* — Metrodori: of Lampsacus, an illustrious disciple of Epicurus. Cicero, *de Fin.* II. 92, calls him *paene alter Epicurus*. — honestas quasdam: implying that in the main the doctrines of this school were not such as a worthy man might avail himself of. — exclamations: short, pithy expressions in which Epicurus and his disciples were fond of embodying their tenets, e.g. *is maxime divitiis fruuntur qui minime divitiis indiget*, Sen. *Ep.* 14. 17. — poscit: the present for the future as occasionally in the Latin of all periods.

10. neque enim: supply in sense: 'This eclectic method of procedure is justifiable.' — sapientem: *i.e.* an ideal philosopher. — Stoicorum comitem, *a follower of the Stoics*. According to Messalla, it is enough for the orator, without being a man of perfect wisdom (sapientem), or without adhering to a single system of philosophy, as *e.g.* the Stoic, to take

from the different systems whatever may serve his purpose. — haurire, libare: *i.e.* to study some branches exhaustively and to dip into others; cf. our 'Know everything about something, and something about everything.'

11. incident...desideratur: logically subordinate to pleraeque...requiritur, though grammatically coordinate. The thought is: 'For while there are many cases—most, in fact—in which a knowledge of civil law is necessary, yet many occur in which a knowledge of these other branches (grammar, music, geometry) is also essential.' — haec scientia: *i.e.* harum artium (grammaticae, musicae, geometriae) scientia; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 10 *ei scientiae*, *i.e.* eius artis (mathematicae) scientiae.

32. nec: for *neu*; as in 13. 8 and frequently. — ut ad tempus, etc.: *i.e.* secure some simple and elementary instruction in a subject according to one's temporary need. — uniforme, simple, a synonym of simplex. The word is not found elsewhere except in much later writers.

longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat atque ubi minime credas eminet et excellit, idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse alium exsistere nec exstitisse umquam confirmo nisi cum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cottidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur, ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius suae civitatis ultro deridant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformatent. In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una

a. longe interesse: an unusual locution, after the analogy of *longe absse*. The usual expression is *multum* or *plurimum interesse*.

3. aliud agentes nos ornat: as, for example, when we mingle socially with others; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 72 *neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum qui non sit omnibus eis artibus, quae sunt libero dignae, per politus.* — *studuisse:* used absolutely, as in 21. 13. — *per omnes numeros isse, to have passed through all the stages.* For this use of *numerus* cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* II. 37 *mundus perfectus expletus-*

que omnibus suis numeris atque partibus. — *denique, in a word.* — *oratorem, a true orator,* as in 15. 1.

5. disertis, speakers, cf. I. 2n. — *huius = nostri,* as in 7. 4. — *praecepta prudentium penitus:* alliteration.

6. sensus, commonplaces. — *angustas sententias, meagre sentences.* — *comitatu:* viz. of all liberal arts. — *circumcisa et amputata:* terms borrowed from gardening and vine-dressing. — *ingenuitate, the dignity of free birth.* The word is rare, and is used by Tacitus in only one other passage, viz. *Ann.*

7 ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ego hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi et, quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendit; 11 quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

33 Et Maternus 'Mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregrisse nondum videris ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus artibus instrui veteres

XIII. 27. — *una*: for *unum (artificium)* by attraction to the subj. *eloquentia*. — *sordidissimis*: said with reference to the mercenary purposes for which oratory was employed. The contrast between *artes ingenuae* and *artificia* is made also by Cicero, *de Fin.* III. 4.

7. *hanc causam*: viz. superficiality. — *in tantum*: post-Augustan for *tantum*; cf. *Ger.* 45 *in tantum a libertate degenerant*; *Dial.* 2. 4; 21. 15 *in quantum*.

8. *potiores*, weightier.

9. et Cicero, etc.: anacoluthon; we should expect *et apud nos Ciceronem*, parallel with *apud Graecos Demosthenem*. — his *verbis*: the citation is from Cic. *Or.* 12.

11. *dum laudo*: *dum* with the present indicative in indirect discourse is not uncommon in Tacitus, particularly in the historical works, e.g. *Hist.* I. 33; *Ann.* II. 81. — *ineptiis*: modestly put for *studiis*; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 111 'Dicam quoniam equidem, quamvis institui, petamque a vobis' inquit (Crassus) 'ne has meas ineptias efferas.'

33. *adeo*: correlative with the following *ut*: 'So far are you from seeming to me to have finished your task, that you appear only to have presented the outlines of the subject.'

a. *artibus*, *theory*, as opposed below to *exercitationibus*, *prac-*

oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desideriae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et secundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut, quem ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim solum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.⁴

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnusserint, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui eruditique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot, tam reconditas, tam varias res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati

tive.—adversus, as compared with;
this usage is rare except in Tacitus.

3. *cetera*: explained by the clause *ut cognoscam*. — *iuvenes et forum ingressuri*: for the expression as a whole cf. 20. 4 *iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incipiendi positi*. On the participle as the equivalent of a relative clause cf. 9. 7 *mansurus*.

4. *arte et scientia, facultate et usu*: corresponding to *artibus* and *exercitationibus* above; cf. on section 6 below. — *contineri, consistit in*. — *significare*: supply in sense as obj. *se non abnuere*.

5. *initia et semina*: *i.e.* the theory. 6. *quamquam ipsis artibus, etc.*: the thought is not altogether clear, as Messalla himself presently admits; cf. section 8 *sed si cui*

obscuria haec videntur. He means to say: 'And yet practice (exercitatio) is, after all, a part of theory (artibus); for no one can understand an abstruse subject (reconditas) or one involving a multitude of details (varias) unless to his theoretical knowledge be added reflection (meditatio), to reflection a mastery of the subject (facultas), and to this mastery practical experience (usus). We thus see that the principle is one and the same, either of understanding what you present to an audience, or of presenting what you have thought out.' — *nisi ut, except (that), unless*. The expression is apparently elliptical, as though for *nisi ita ut*. So also Quint. V. 10. 57 *numquam tolletur a specie*

- 7 usus eloquentiae accedat, per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi
 8 quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur, isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.
- 34 Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit

genus, nisi ut omnes species promoveantur; Pliny Ep. II. 12. 16 neque enim iam incohari poterat actio, nisi ut noctis intervenitu scinderetur; Suet. Claud. 35.

8. quae videntur, which are seen.

34. ergo, accordingly, i.e. in accordance with the promise already made above, *perseguar nunc exercitationes*.—deducebatur: the regular word to indicate the introduction of a young Roman into active life.—a propinquis: i.e. in case the father was already dead.

2. hunc sectari, etc.: cf. 2. 2 ff. — omnibus dictionibus, everything he said.—altercationes: the *alteratio* was opposed to the con-

tinua or perpetua oratio; the former consisted of questions and answers, the latter allowed no interruptions. An *alteratio* might naturally become so heated in character as to degenerate into wrangling (*iurgium*), which was doubtless often the case.—ut sic dixerim: the use of the perfect in the sense of the present is confined exclusively to principal clauses, except in this phrase, which occurs repeatedly in Tacitus and Quintilian. Other writers use *ut ita dicam* or *ut ita dixerim*.

3. constantiae, self-reliance.—iudicii, tact.—in media luce: i.e. in the open forum. — ubi nemo impune dicit, etc., where no

quo minus et index respuat et adversarius exprobret,
ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim
et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam
unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis pa-
tronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebat;
habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium
copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque
vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praceptor 5
decerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem elo-
quentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et
aemuli, ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium
semper plenum, semper novum ex invidis et faventibus,
ut nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur. Scitis 6
enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam
non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam in suis;
inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corro-

one can avoid punishment, if he utters something. It is this general notion of avoiding or preventing, attaching to the sentence, which justifies the use of *quo minus*; cf. 3. 1 n. *terribilis contrarie dicit*: i.e. contradicts himself. — *advo- cati*: here in its early sense of influential friends who encouraged a litigant by their presence in court. For another meaning see 1. 2 n.

4. *iudiciis*: different courts, as the centumviral, praetor's, and others. — *habetant . . . copiam*: i.e. they had an opportunity (*copiam*) of observing the diverse taste (*aurium*) of popular audi- ences.

5. *ita nec deerat*: *ita for itaque*; cf. 17. 5. — *faciem*: i.e. the true face, as opposed to *imaginem*, an imitation. — *ferro non rudibus, with real weapons, not with foils*. — *ex invidis et faventibus*: attribu-

tive modifier of *auditorium, an audience composed of friends and enemies*. On such employment of prepositional phrases see Kühner, *Ausf. Gr.* II. § 58 a, β.

6. *duraturam, which will endure*; cf. 9. 7 *mancurum*. — *in diversis subselliis, on the benches of one's opponents*. For *diversis* in the sense of *adversis*, cf. 1. 4; Quint. XI. 3. 132 *adversa subsellia*. Messalla means that the consciousness of pleading before a hostile audience spurs one on to greater effort, and so to greater triumphs. — *quam in suis (sc. subselliis)*: before one's own partisans. — *inde*: i.e. *ex subselliis adversis*. — *quin immo*: post-positive as in 6. 3. — *constantius surgere (sc. faciam)*: i.e. a fuller glory arises from convincing one's opponents. — *fidelius corroborari, is estab- lished upon a more secure basis*.

7 borari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cottidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusacionem suscepereat sive defensionem, solus statim et 8 unus cuicunque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuri sunt, quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus.¹ At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur; quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse nec placuisse maiori-

8. nono decimo, uno et vicensimo: Tacitus is in error here as regards the ages of Crassus and Caesar at the time of the events referred to. Crassus was really in his twenty-first year, and Caesar in his twenty-third. Hence some editors read *uno et vicensimo* for *nono decimo*, and *tertio et vicensimo* for *uno et vicensimo*. But this gives us an anticlimax, and it is better to assume that Tacitus followed inaccurate authorities.—**Crassus Carbonem:** on Crassus see 18. 3. C. Papirius Carbo was an associate of Tiberius Gracchus in 131 B.C., but subsequently he deserted the popular party and defended L. Opimius, at whose instance Gaius Gracchus had been murdered in 121 B.C. Crassus nevertheless brought accusation against Carbo in 119 B.C., and prosecuted the case with such vigor that the latter sought death by suicide. — **Caesar Dolabel-**

lam: this charge was brought on the ground of Dolabella's acts of extortion in Macedonia. — **Pollio Catonem:** on Pollio see 12. 7 n. C. Porcius Cato (not to be confused with Cato Uticensis) was accused of certain irregularities in connection with legislation of the year 54 B.C., but was acquitted. — *non multum aetate antecedens, not much older.* — **Calvus Vatinium:** on the former see 17. 1 n.; on the latter 21. 5 n. — *insecuri sunt:* used of a legal prosecution as in Hor. *Epist.* II. 2. 19 *insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?* — *hodieque, to-day also;* cf. Ger. 3. *Ascburgium quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur.*

35. *nunc, nowadays*, as in 29. 1. — *qui rhetores vocantur:* see 30. 2 n. — *paulo ante Ciceronis tempora:* i.e. before the time when his public life began. He was fourteen years old when Crassus and Domitius were censors in 92 B.C.

bus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, 'ludum impudentiac' iussi sunt. Sed, ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas, in quibus non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali 2 ingenii adferat. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, 3 in quem nemo nisi aequre imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adolescentuli inter adolescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte 4 contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his 5 suasoriae quidem, tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam 6 incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem, ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum elec- 7 ctiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut

2. *utrumne*: for *utrum*; in Tacitus only here and 37. 4.

3. *nisi aequre imperitus*: *i.e.* the teacher knows no more than his pupils; hence *nihil reverentiae*. — *pueri inter pueros*, etc.: Messalla means that at least the boys and youths might be instructed together, so that the young should profit by the greater experience of their seniors. — *securitate*: *i.e.* without fear of criticism. The poorest effort was sure of applause.

4. *contrariae, pernicious*, — in this sense post-Augustan. — *nempe enim*, *for as everybody knows*. The phrase is found only here in Tacitus. — *susoriae et controver-*

siae: the former were hortatory in character, the latter argumentative.

5. *robustioribus*: *i.e.* the older boys. — *per fidem*: an unusual oath, and occurring only in post-Augustan writers. See Petr. 100; Apuleius, *Met.* VI. 175.

6. *declamatio*: *i.e.* a declamatory style of delivery.

7. *sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia*, etc.: examples of the subjects which the pupils of the *rhetores* were wont to treat. Thus they discussed the proper reward to be bestowed upon him who had murdered a tyrant; whether a ravished maiden should prefer death or marriage; whether

quidquid in schola cottidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel
numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur: cum ad veros
iudices ventum —

- S. cum
ānu*
- 36 — rem cogitant. Nihil humile vel abiectum cloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam pro-
2 vexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omni-

one should sacrifice one's own child in order to stay a pestilence, etc. — *cum ad iudices ventum*: the sentence probably closed with some such thought as: 'then we see how scant their equipment is.' The conclusion of Messala's speech, and the beginning of the following are lost. The lacuna was of several pages in extent, six in one MS.

36. Concerning the speaker in chapters 36-40. 1 see Intr. p. xvii. — *humile, abiectum*: a favorite combination of Cicero; cf. *de Fin.* V. 57 *nihil humile, nihil abiectum*; *Or.* 192 *humilem et abiectam orationem*. — *poterat*: the subj. of this verb was probably the name of some Greek orator, — Demosthenes or some other; cf. the language in line 4: *eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate. — antiquorum*; sc. *oratorum*.

2. *horum temporum, the present times.* — *ea consecuti sunt quae tribui fas erat*: i.e. such moderate distinction as it was possible to attain under existing conditions, implying that in a

well-ordered and tranquil government such opportunities were more restricted than formerly. — *illa*: i.e. under the Republic, as opposed to *horum temporum* above. — *plura sibi adsequi videbantur*: the thought is inaccurately expressed. The earlier Roman orators, who must be understood as referred to in *videbantur*, could obviously not have compared themselves with a later generation, as enjoying larger privileges (*plura adsequi*). The writer means rather: 'secured greater rewards, as it seems to me.' For a similar use of *videtur*, cf. *Caes. B.G. I. 40 cum meritus videbatur*, i.e. deserved, as it seems to me. — *omnibus*: for *omnibus rebus*; cf. 37. 4 *his*. Neuter plural adjectives are rarely used substantively by earlier writers in any case except the nom. or acc., where the termination shows the gender. The writers of the Silver Age, however, employ the other cases with some freedom, e.g. *Tac. Agr. 35 firmus adversis; Seneca, de Benef. II. 5. 2 sublimium cursum; Quint. XI.*

bus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat. Hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusations potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina Quae singula 3 etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in 4 ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis 5 etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant neminem sinc 6

2. 6 *hesternorum immemores.* — tantum saperet: *i.e.* was thought to be as wise, as he could make people believe. — erranti, vacillating, following now one leader, now another.

3. hinc: *i.e.* as a result of the unsettled state of public life. Note the emphatic repetition of this particle (anaphora). — leges adsiduae: *i.e.* popular laws, *e.g.* agrarian legislation.—et, and therefore, *i.e.* as a result of these popular laws. — paene pernoctantium in rostris: cf. Cic. Brut. 305 habitation in rostris. — adsignatae domibus inimicitiae: *i.e.* feuds attaching to noble houses, and

transmitted from generation to generation. — procerum factiones: factions among the nobility, some of whom took the part of the people in the strife of classes.

5. hi: sc. antiquioratores.—clientelis etiam exterarum nationum: not only colonies and municipalities, but also provinces and foreign kings were wont to enter the clientela of distinguished and influential Romans. — reverebantur, colebant: *i.e.* in order to secure protection for their interests while absent, and to avoid prosecution for maladministration upon their return. — consulatus vocare: note the personification.

quentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspi-
 7 cuum et eminentem locum. Nec mirum, cum etiam
 inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in
 senatu breviter censere, nisi quis ingenio et eloquentia
 sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut
 crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum
 testimonia quoque in iudiciis non absentes nec per
 tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cog-
 8 rentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam
 necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pul-
 chrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem
 37 videri deforme habebatur. Ergo non minus rubore
 quam praemiis stimulabantur, ne clientulorum loco
 potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a
 maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tam-
 quam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impe-
 2 trarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an
 venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et in anti-
 quariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime
 a Muciano contrahuntur ac iam undecim, ut opinor,

7. *ad populum produceren-*
tur: *i.e.* were brought upon the
Rostra to address the people.
 — *breviter censere, nisi quis*
tueretur: the clause *nisi quis*
tueretur is not to be regarded as
 subordinate to *breviter censere*,
 but is rather explanatory of it. ‘It
 was too little to speak briefly,
i.e. it was too little if a man did
 not support his opinion by able
 speech.’ — *respondendum habe-*
ret: see *Intr. p. xxi.* — *per tabel-*
lam, by deposition.

8. *quo modo*: see 25. 4 n. —
mutum et elinguem: cf. *Livy X.*
 19. 7 *ex muto et elingu facundum*
etiam consulēm haberent.

37. *rubore, sense of shame*, — in
 this meaning post-Augustan. — *cli-*
entulorum: the diminutive em-
 phasizes the feeling of contempt
 for those who held the position
 of *clientes*. The word is found
 only here, and in *Ann. XII. 36.* —
necessitudines: *i.e.* the heredi-
 tary relations of a *patronus* to his
clientes. — *non suffecturi, unequal*
to. — *impetrarent*: sc. *honores*.

a. *haec vetera*: *these old docu-*
ments. — *antiquariorum*: a post-
 Augustan word. For its meaning
 in the *Dialogus* see 21. 9 n. —
cum maxime, now particularly,
 as in 16. 11. — *a Muciano*: C.
Licinius Mucianus, well known as

Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse, Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas an de ambitu comitiorum, expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale patimur, ita

the efficient supporter of Vespasian at the time the latter became Emperor. The concluding years of his life were apparently devoted to the preparation of an historical work, for which he was now gathering materials. See Intr. p. xiv. — *contrahuntur, are being gathered.* — *actorum:* these were of two kinds, *acta senatus* and *acta diurna*. Both were established by Julius Caesar in 59 B.C. They were published under government authority, posted in public, and then extensively copied by private citizens for transmission abroad. The *acta senatus* were a record of the official proceedings of the Senate; the *acta diurna* epitomized both public and private news of general interest. It is to the *acta senatus*, probably, that reference is here made.

3. *Lentulos . . . Curiones, etc.:* all belonging to the last period of the Republic.

4. *his accedebat, to this was*

added. For the use of the dative plural neuter as a substantive see 36. 2 n. — *quae et ipsa, which very circumstances also;* cf. 30. 1 in *quibus et ipsis.* — *utrumne:* for the simple *utrum,* as in 35. 2. — *formula:* see 20. 1 n. — *interdicto:* the name given to a decree issued by the praetor under special circumstances, — particularly in cases relating to the possession of property and requiring immediate adjustment. In case the litigants agreed as to the facts alleged in the *interdictum,* the case terminated at once. In case of disagreement it took its ordinary course in the courts. — *dicendum habeas:* see Intr. p. xxi. — *ambitu comitiorum, bribery at elections,* the subject of Cicero's oration *pro Murena.* — *expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis:* *sociis* means *provincials,* as commonly in Tacitus. The theme is illustrated by the Verrine orations. Note the chiasmus.

cum acciderent, ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt; non quia tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit.

Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? Plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie, quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit, quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore

7. tutores suos: Demosthenes, when he came of age, brought suit against his guardians on the ground that they had fraudulently administered the property left him by his father. After a lengthy litigation he finally abandoned the case.
— P. Quinctius defensus, the defense of P. Quinctius. This is the earliest of the extant orations of Cicero, delivered when he was only twenty-five years old. Like the oration for Archias, it concerned only private interests.

8. non quia tanti fuerit, etc., not that it was worth while for the State to produce bad citizens for

the purpose of providing the orators with fertile themes for oratory. For the subjv. see 9. 4n. non quia poeta es. — ut subinde admoneo: as e.g. at the beginning of chapter 36. — sed quaestionis meminerimus, but let us remember the point; transition to a principal clause instead of the anticipated sed de ea re loquimur. — sciamusque, and let us recognize the fact.

9. proeliatores: in Tacitus found only here and in *Ann. II. 73.*

10. steterit, intulerit, etc.: sc. eloquentia personified. — quoque: i.e. et quo. — in ore hominum

hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura velint,
periculosa extollant.

Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior exsistit, eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comprehensiones erant et modum in dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud practores gererentur; apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur, ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius

agit: literally *does she appear (live) in the mouths of men*, i.e. is spoken by men.

38. *quae*: i.e. *forma et consuetudo iudiciorum*, — not *forma et consuetudo veterum iudiciorum*. — *comprehensiones*: a post-Augustan word. — *modum in dicendo*: cf. Cic. de Rep. II. 1 *modus in dicendo*. — *numerus patronorum*: towards the close of the Republic sometimes as many as twelve served in the same case. — *finiebatur*: for *definiebatur*, — the simple verb for the compound; see 17. 4 n.

2. *tertio consulatu*: i.e. in the year 52 B.C., when Pompey, then sole consul, secured the passage of a law limiting the time of the accuser to two hours and that of the accused to three. He

also restricted the number of *patroni*. — *in foro*: as opposed to *auditoria et tabularia*, 39. 2. — *legibus*: cf. 19. 6 *ri et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt*. — *apud praetores*: as opposed to *in senatu sive apud principem*, 5. 6.

3. *apud quos*, etc., *what greater proof is there how much more important business used to be transacted, etc?* — *causae centumvirales*: i.e. cases before the *centumviri*; see 7. 1 n. — *quae nunc primum obtinent locum*: Augustus gave the centumviral court special prominence by assigning to it exclusive jurisdiction in certain matters, particularly cases of disputed inheritance. — *obruebantur, were overshadowed*. — *ut non . . . liber dictus legatur, (so overshadowed) that we do not read*

- magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur
- 4 — exceptis orationibus Asinii, quae pro heredibus Vrbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Polione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat.
- 39 Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur! Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae

*of the delivery of a speech (liber) by any great orator before the centumviri; dictus is for dictus esse. The construction is after the analogy of Caesar venisse dicitur, and is extremely rare with *legor*. Further instances are: Prop. V. 11. 36 *uni nupta suisse legar*; Cassiodorus Variarum IX. 4 *gryphes aurum iugiter effodere legitur*, we read that the griffins dig gold continually.*

4. pro heredibus Vrbinia: Asinius Pollio (see 12. 7n.) defended the rights of the heirs of a certain Urbinius against one Figulus, who claimed to be Urbinius's son, but was in reality a mere adventurer and a slave. The case made great stir in Rome at the time. — ab ipso tamen Polione: i.e. though delivered by Pollio himself, one of the *oratores antiqui*, yet they were delivered at a time when political activity had greatly declined, and the interest in private affairs (such as the suit just mentioned) had greatly increased. — quies, otium, tranquillitas: Tacitus often combines these synonyms, e.g. *Agr.*

6. 21, 40. — depacaverat: on the use of the pluperfect indicative with *postquam* see 22. 3n. *Depacare* occurs only here. On the compound for the simple verb cf. 6. 5 *consurgendi*.

39. vel ideo ut rideatur: i.e. for the very purpose of raising a laugh.

2. paenulas: apparently either the *traveling-cloak*, or, what is more probable, some other garment resembling it and designated by the same name. The usual dress of the Roman orator was, at all periods, the *toga*. The present passage is the only one that mentions a different garb. — fabulamur: in a disparaging sense, as in 23. 3. Owing to frequent interruptions by the judge, the orator's discourse ceases to be an oration, and degenerates into a *chat with the court*. — auditoria et tabularia: the *auditoria* were properly used for public recitations, and the *tabularia* for the preservation of the public archives; both places, therefore, were beneath the dignity of a court of justice.

explicantur ! Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et 3
 spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per
 quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur, debilitatur ac frangi-
 tur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis 4
 stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe inter-
 rogat iudex quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius
 incipiendum est, frequenter probationibus et testibus
 silentium inpatiens indicit. Vnus inter haec dicenti ?
 aut alter adsistit et res velut in solitudine agitur.
 Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut 5
 quodam theatro ; qualia cottidie antiquis oratoribus con-
 tingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coarta-
 rent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum
 etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsi-
 steret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Ro-
 manus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat 6
 C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L.
 Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et
 accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores

3. quo modo : see 25. 4 n. —
cursus et spatia, spacious courses,
 hendiadys.

4. quin immo : post-positive.
 See 6. 3 n. — *contrariam, futile,*
 used predicatively. For the mean-
 ing cf. 34. 3 n. — *quando inci-*
prias, when you're going to begin,
i.e. come to the point; indirect
question. — ex interrogacione
eius, after his inquiry. — indicit :
sc. iudex, i.e. he even interrupts
the argument and the evidence. —
unus aut alter : only one or two
friends are present, as compared
with the throng who formerly
gathered in the court-room. On
unus aut alter see 9. 6 n.

5. pariter = *simil*, 'at the same

time so many and so noble.'
 With tot and nobiles supply
homines; cf. Sen. Ep. 108. 38 tot
ac talium. — adsisteret: in the
 judicial sense, post-Augustan for
 the earlier *adesse, stand by one on*
trial, as counsel or active supporter.

6. C. Cornelium : accused of
 treason in 65 B.C., and suc-
 cessfully defended by Cicero. —
 Scaurm : pro-praetor of the
 province of Sardinia in 55 B.C.
 After his return to Rome he was
 accused of extortion, but was suc-
 cessfully defended by Cicero and
 others. — Milonem, Bestiam,
 Vatinium : all defended by Cicero.
 — *frigidissimos quoque, even*
the coldest; quoque in the sense

ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt^T non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.^T Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a P. quidem Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque pronis, ut histriones, auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingenii, quas oratoribus faces admovebant!

*Mater*² Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocant,

of *vel*, as in 6. 6. — potuerint, would have been able. See Gildersleeve, § 599, Remark 5, last line.

7. libri, published speeches, as in 38. 3. — ut . . . non aliis magis orationibus censeantur: the text here is probably corrupt. Some commentators explain: so that the very men who delivered them (egerunt) are not rated higher for any other orations (than for these). But this would simply be a cumbersome way of saying that certain masterpieces of the great orators were extant, a ridiculous anticlimax; moreover, the above interpretation of egerunt does violence to the language.

40. ipsa inimicitiarum: the prominence gained by the notoriety of a quarrel was held to be a sufficient compensation. — ut est natura invidiae: modifying ad incessendos viros.—populi quoque pronis, ut histriones, auribus uterentur: *i.e.* the orators found the ears of the people

ready, and were listened to as eagerly as were actors on the stage; cf. *Hist.* I. 1 *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur*; 54 *ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur*. — faces: figuratively, stimulus.

a. non de otiosa, etc.: on the probable lacuna before these words, see Intr., p. xvii. — alumna licentiae: the thought is apparently at variance with that expressed in Cic. *Brut.* 45 *pacis est comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia*. But in the passage from the *Brutus*, *pax* and *otium* are opposed not to civil discord but to foreign wars, and *bene constituta civitas* not to a state torn by dissensions but to one whose institutions are not yet formed; hence there is no necessary conflict between Cicero's thought and that of Tacitus. — licentiae, libertatem: the Latin writers affect combinations of

comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax temeraria adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem 3 enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepi-
mus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et seve-
rissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac 4 Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus; Rhodii quidam, plurimi 5 Athenienses oratores exstiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes pote-
rant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se 6 partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem elo-
quentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores; sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum elo-
quentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

words related both in sound and sense. Further illustrations are *Hist.* II. 10 *libertas ac licentia*; I. 12 *licentia ac libidine*. See *Intr.* p. xxii. — *sine severitate, without reserve*. Tacitus is thinking of the old Roman *severitas*, often synonymous with *dignitas, gravitas*.

4. *certo imperio*: *i.e.* the undisputed sway of a monarch.

5. *Rhodii*: *e.g.* Apollonius Molo, the teacher of Cicero, and the elder Hermagoras. See 19. 4 n. — *omnia, donec, nulla*: on the anaphora see *Intr.* p. xxiii. — *ut sic dixerim*: see 34. 2 n.

6. *donec erravit*: *i.e.* while it lacked strong leadership; cf. 36. 2

erranti populo. On this use of *donec* see 8. 5 n. — *nullus magistratum modus*: *i.e.* they did not confine themselves to the constitutional limitations of their office; cf. *e.g.* the case of the Gracchi.

7. *laetiores*: cf. *Verg. Georg.* I. 339 *laetus in herbis*. — *nec tanti*: explained by the following *ut*-clause. — *ut pateretur et leges, that it should endure their laws* too, as well as hear their eloquence. — *nec bene famam*, etc.: 'and ingloriously did Cicero pay for his renown as an orator by such a death.' With *nec bene* cf. *Ior. Carm.* II. 7. 10 *relicta non bene formula*. — *pensavit*: for *com-pensavit*. See 17. 4 n.

41 Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori, non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexat tamque? Atqui melius fuisse non queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator, sicut inter sanos medicus; quo modo enim minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos.

5 Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi

6 deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscensit obviam periclitantibus eat?

41. *sic quoque, etc.*: 'so even to-day, as far as the ancient type of oratory survives, it proves that the state is not yet perfect, etc.'

3. *melius fuisse*: where *melius fuit* would be the commoner idiom. Gr. 309, 2.—*non queri*: *i.e.* to have no cause for complaint.

4. *minimum usus minimumque proiectus, the least need and consequently the least advantage*; —*que* is epexegetic. This usage is comparatively rare; cf. *Ger.* 29 *ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos*; *Livy* I. 60, 1 *codemque tempore verterunt*. — *et in obsequium re-*

gentis paratos, and inclined to obedience to a sovereign.

5. *quid enim opus, etc.*: *i.e.* 'what need of oratory where the ideal government already exists?' —*sed sapientissimus et unus*: *i.e.* the Emperor. Tacitus seizes the opportunity of complimenting the administration of Vespasian.

6. *voluntariis accusationibus*: *i.e.* such as those voluntarily brought by Caesar and Cicero against Dolabella and Verres, in the last days of the Republic. See 36. 3. —*cognoscensit*: *i.e.* *invidicis*; cf. 19. 6 n. Intr. p. xx.

Credite, optimi et, in quantum opus est, disertissimi 7
 viri, si aut vos prioribus sacculis aut illi quos miramur
 his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas ac tempora vestra
 repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria
 in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum
 defuisset. Nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adse- 8
 qui potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono
 saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.'

Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'Erant quibus 42
 contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem,
 nisi iam dies esset exactus.' 'Fiet' inquit Maternus 2
 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo
 sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.' Ac
 simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus: 'Ego' inquit 3
 'te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur.'
 'At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit. Cum
 adrississent, discessimus. 4

7. in quantum opus est di-
 sertissimi: *i.e.* as eloquent as
 the changed conditions of the
 times make necessary. — *vitas ac*
tempora vestra: note that *vestra*
 includes not merely *vos* but also
illi. — *temperamentum, moderation*;
 post-Augustan for the
 earlier *temperantia*.

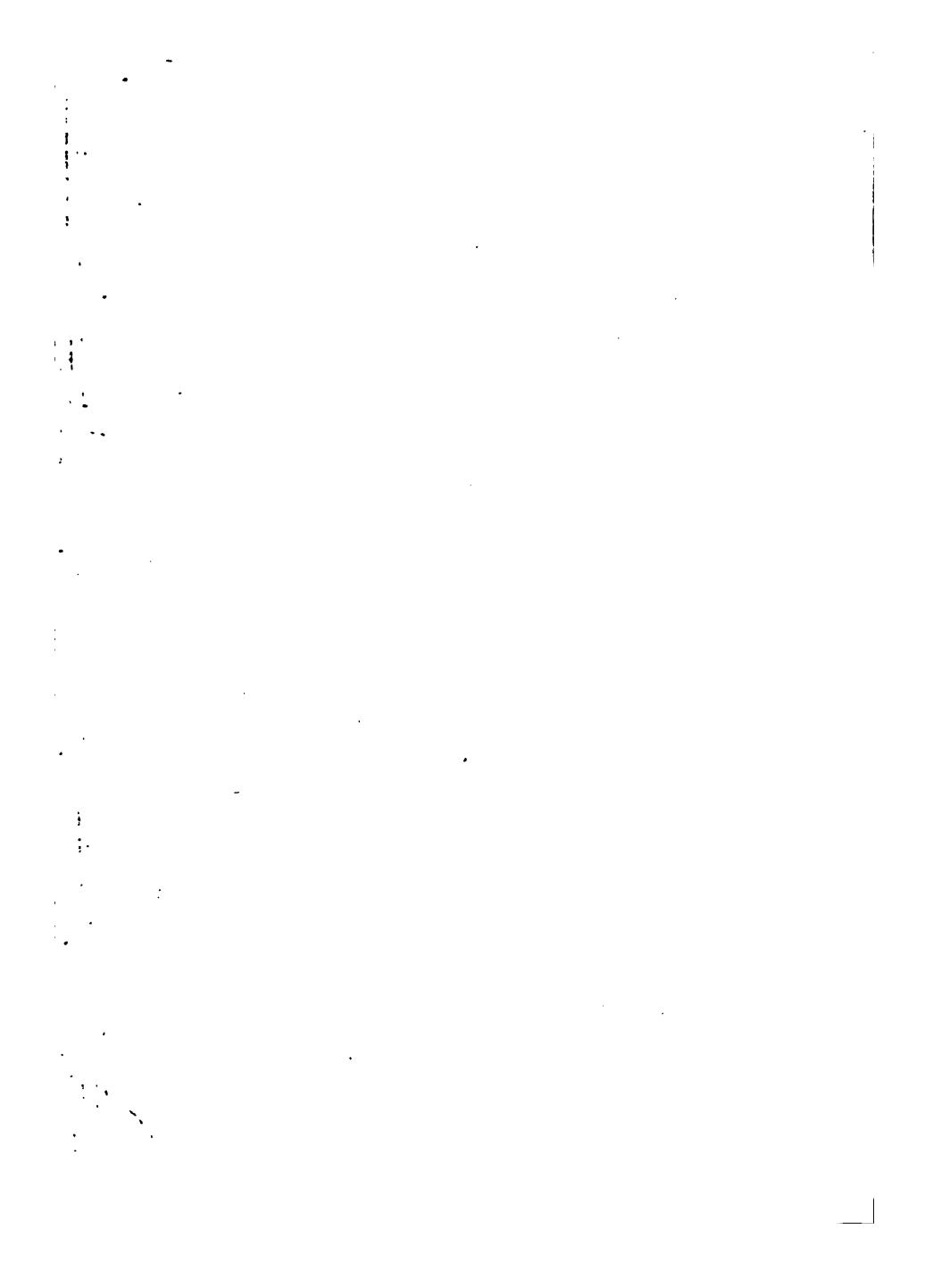
8. *bono saeculi sui, etc.*, let
 each one enjoy the advantages of his
 own age, *i.e.* do you enjoy the ad-
 vantages of your era, and credit
 the ancients with those which they

possessed. — *citra — sine*, as in
 27. 2. — *alterius*: here for the
 gen. of *alios*, as usual.

42. finierat: as in 14. 1. — *dies exactus*: poetic and post-Augustan
 for *dies confectus*.

2. *conferemus, confer*: here
 used absolutely. The usual expres-
 sion is *sermonem conferre*.

3. *poetis, antiquariis: crimi-*
nari is usually followed by *apud*
aliquem not by the dat. *Anti-*
quarius is here used in the sense
 of *admirer of the past*; see 21. 9 n.



CRITICAL APPENDIX.

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

THE MSS. of the *Dialogus* are all descended from a single codex supposed to have been written in the 13th century, and discovered about 1457 by one Enoch of Ascoli, a papal monk, probably at the monastery of Hersfeld in Hesse. The MSS. fall into two families, usually designated by X and Y. To the X-class belong :

- A* Vaticanus 1862.
B Leidensis, the second hand of which is designated as *b*.
To the Y family belong :

- E* Ottobonianus.
V Vindobonensis 711.
C Farnesianus.
A Vaticanus 4498.
D Vaticanus 1518.

A few others of inferior value.

Till lately scholars gave the preference to the X-class, but the tendency of recent study has been to recognize the worth of the Y-family.

B. CHIEF DEVIATIONS OF THIS EDITION FROM THE TEXT OF HALM.

1. 3. *mea mihi*,¹ Schurzfleisch ; *mihi mea*, MSS. 4. *e . . . excepti*, Gudeman ; *a . . . accepi*, MSS. *diversas eas quidem probabiles*, Baehrens ; *diversas [vel easdem probabiles]*, II.

5. 3. *non*, supplied by Gudeman. 6. *sive . . . vel . . . sive*, Gudeman ; *sive . . . sive . . . sive*, Muretus.

¹ The reading of this edition stands first; that of Halm follows. Readings which rest upon Halm's own conjecture are marked II.

6. 5. coram, MSS.; coronam, Acidalius. 6. vulgata, MSS.; vulgaria, Orelli. 8. quamquam quaedam serantur is my emendation; quamquam t alia diu serantur, II.

7. 2. in animo, Freinsheim; in aliquo, Ritter. 3. iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, Gudeman; vacuos et adulescentes, b.

8. 6. ipsis, MSS.; ipsi, Lipsius.

11. 2. in Neronem, A B; in Nerone, C D E V. 5. cuiusque, MSS.; hucusque, Lipsius. tuetur, Pichena; tueor, MSS.

13. 5. non praestant, Lipsius; praestant, MSS. omni, Walther; canina, II. 7. relinquere quandoque fatalis meus dies veniet, Nipperdey; relinquere (quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies veniet), II.

14. 3. ardentior, Baehrens; audentior, MSS. 4. optimi temporum, Muretus; temporum, MSS. 5. quam in Apro, MSS.; quam dannari in Apro, II.

15. 2. atque id eo, Lipsius; parem antiquis, II.

16. 9. trecentos, MSS.; quadringentos, Lipsius. 11. iam, Baehrens; etiam, Michaelis.

17. 4. fatebatur, C E V Δ; fateretur, A B. Britanni et, Baehrens; Britanni, Ernesti. 5. et Caesarem quidem, Meiser; aequem idem et Caesarem, Nissen. 6. [nam . . . duravit], Gudeman; without brackets, MSS.

19. 1. Cassium Severum, quem, Michaelis; qui usque ad Cas- sium . . . quem reum faciunt, quem, MSS.

20. 2. vitiatus, Gudeman; invitatus, MSS.

21. 2. Canutium aut Arrium vel Furnios et Toranios, Nipperdey; Canuti aut Atti . . . de Furnio et Toranio, MSS. 13. tragediis, MSS.; in tragoeidiis, Ritter.

22. 3. senior iam, most MSS.; iam senior, A B. 5. paries est et, Gudeman; paries et, MSS. 7. obsoleta, Gudeman; olentia, MSS.

23. 2. fastidiunt et oderunt, B; fastidiunt [oderunt], Heumann.

24. 4. efficiat ratio temporum, Baehrens; effici ratio temporum colegerit, MSS.

25. 3. qua quasi cominus nisus, Joh. Müller; si t cominus, II. 6. nervosior, Meiser; numerosior, MSS. 7. paeferunt, Acidalius; prae se ferunt, Andresen.

28. 6. aut eligebatur, Meiser; eligebatur autem, MSS.

29. 2. virides statim et teneri, Gudeman; teneri statim et rudes, H. [et sui alienique contemptus]: bracketed by Gudeman.

30. 3. referam, MSS.; prius referam, Acidalius.

32. 5. suae civitatis, Gudeman; civitatis, MSS. 9. ex . . . officinis, ex . . . spatiis, Gudeman; officinis, spatiis, Haase.

34. 8. hodieque, *C D E V*; *hodie quoque*, *A B*.

35. 2. adferat, Gudeman; adferant, MSS. 3. intrat, MSS.; intret, Nipperdey.

38. 1. existit is my conjecture; extiterit, Walther. modum in dicendo, Gudeman; modum dicendi, Puteolanus. 4. omnia depacaverat, *A B*; omnia alia pacaverat, *C D V*.

39. 1. rideatur, *C D E V*; ridear, *A B*.

40. 1. pronis auribus, Wolff; auribus, MSS. 2. sine severitate, Pithou; sine veritate, Steiner.

41. 7. tempora vestra, Haase; [vestra] tempora, II.

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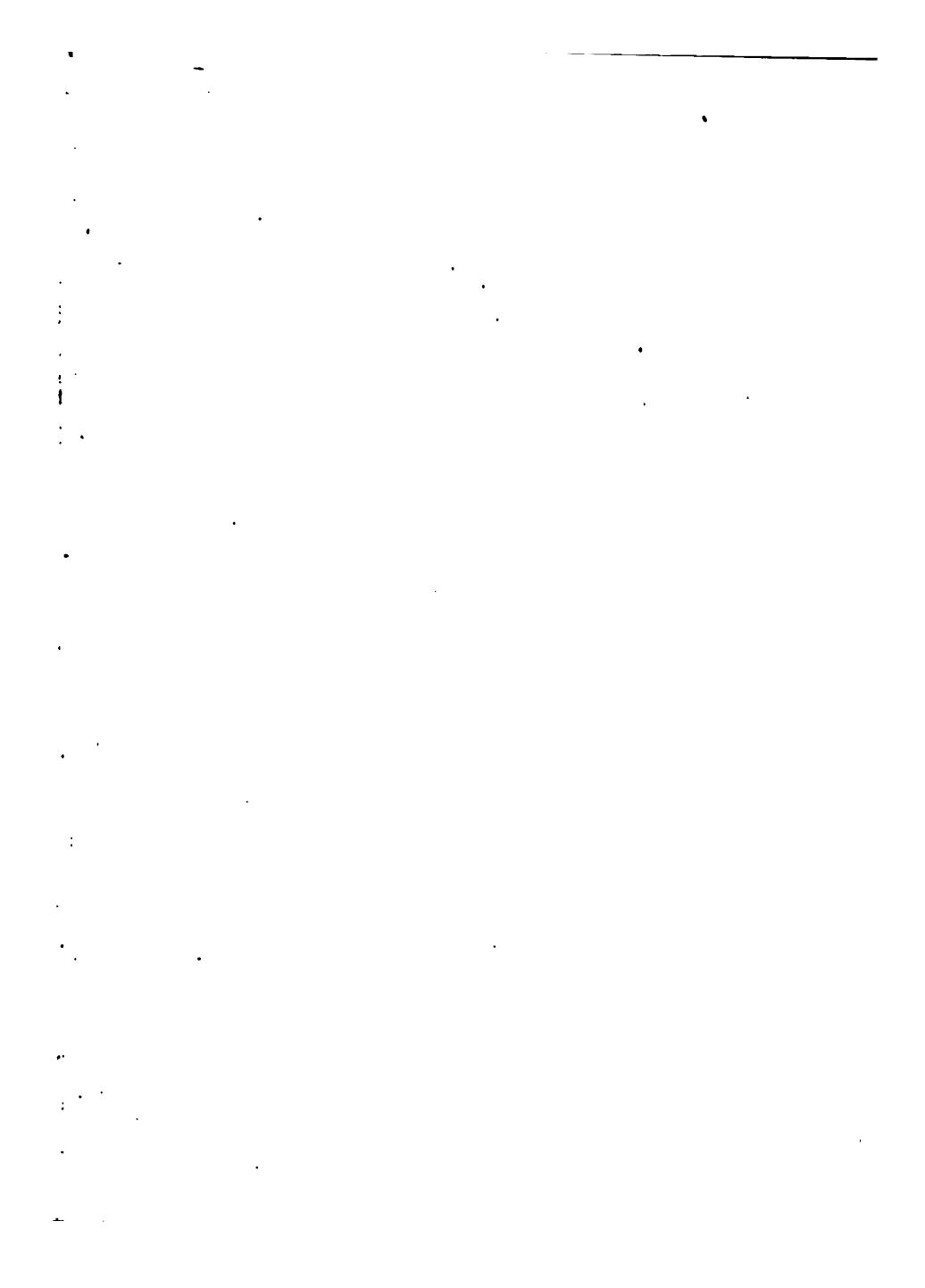
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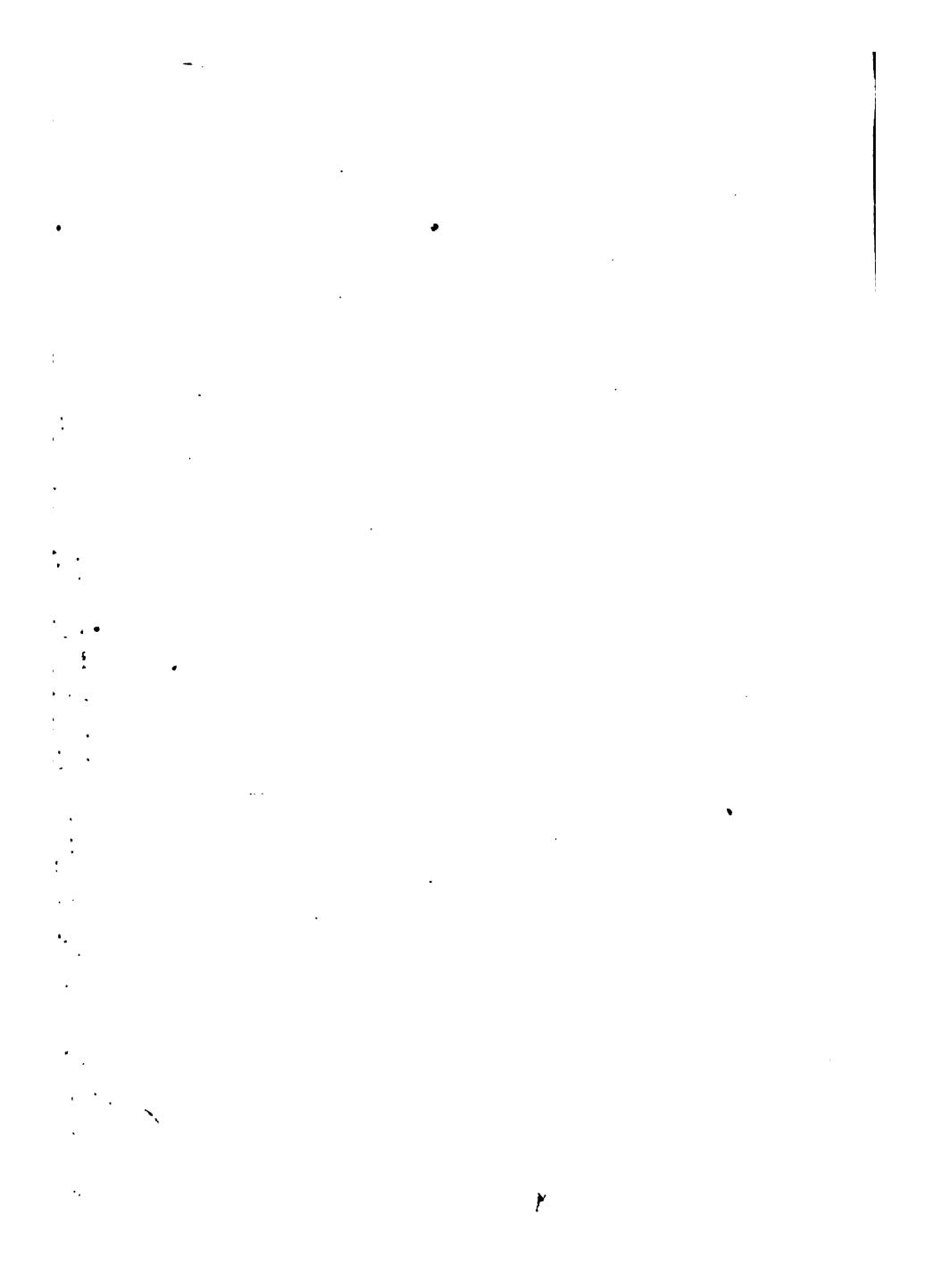
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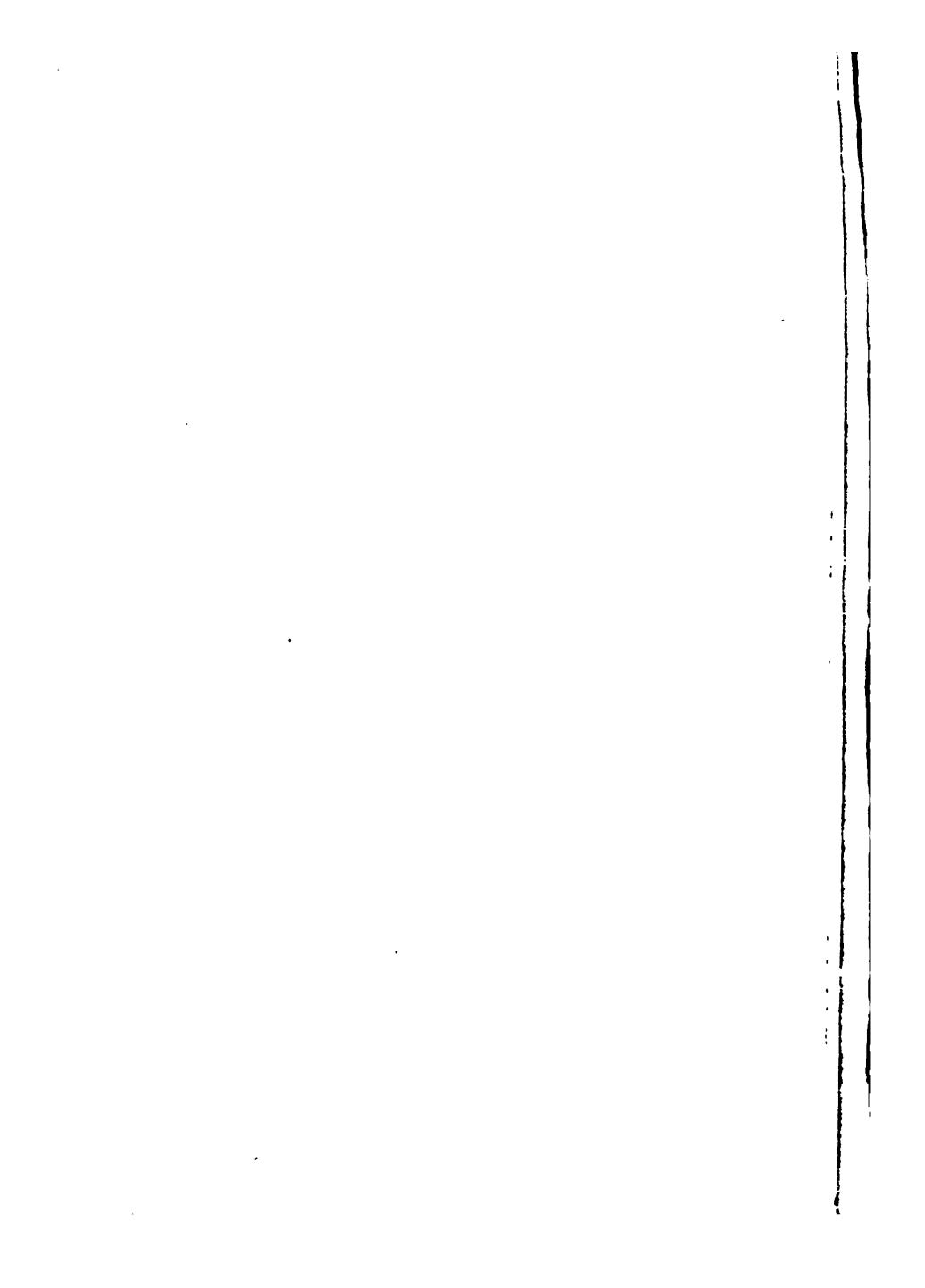
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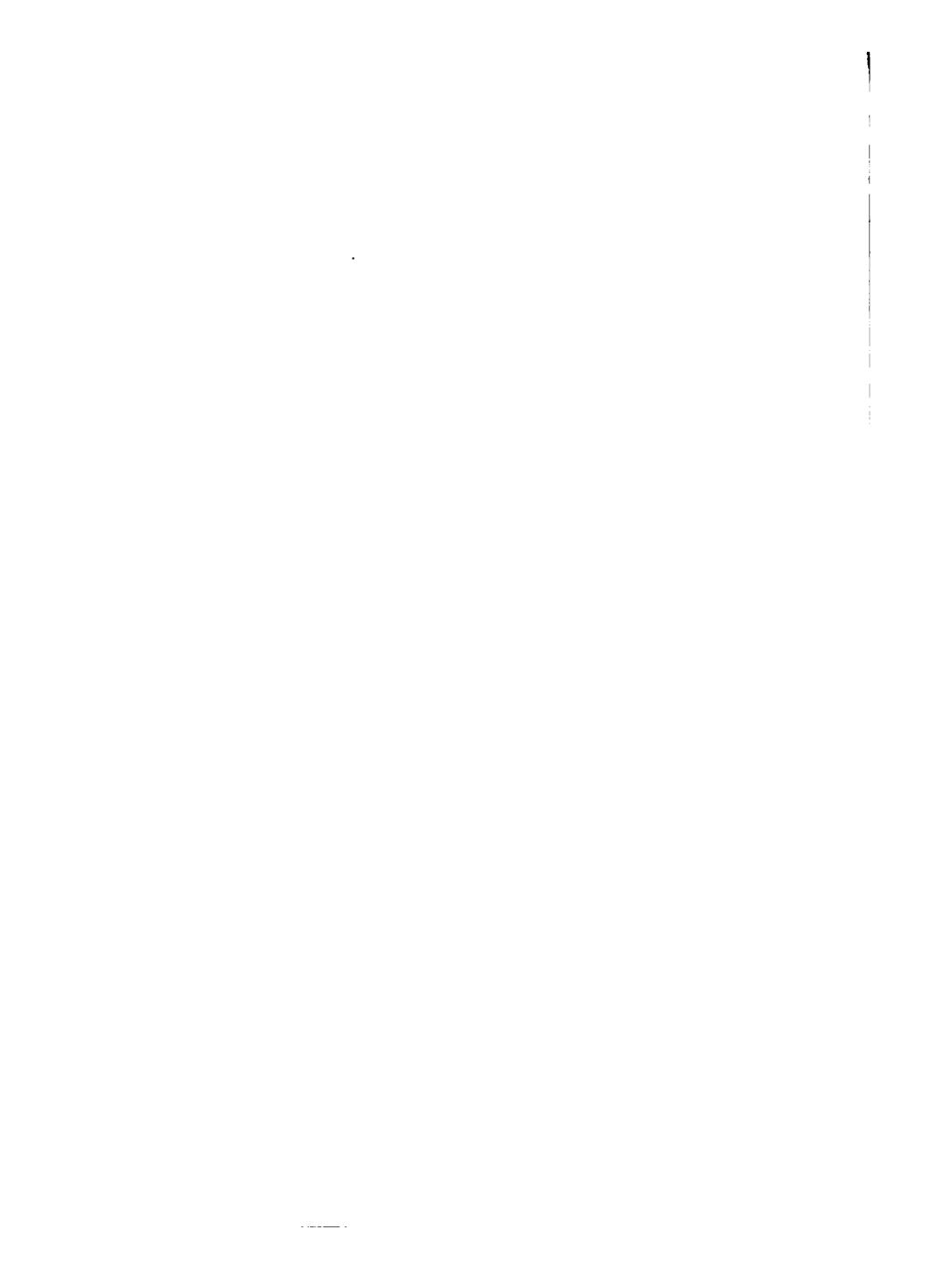
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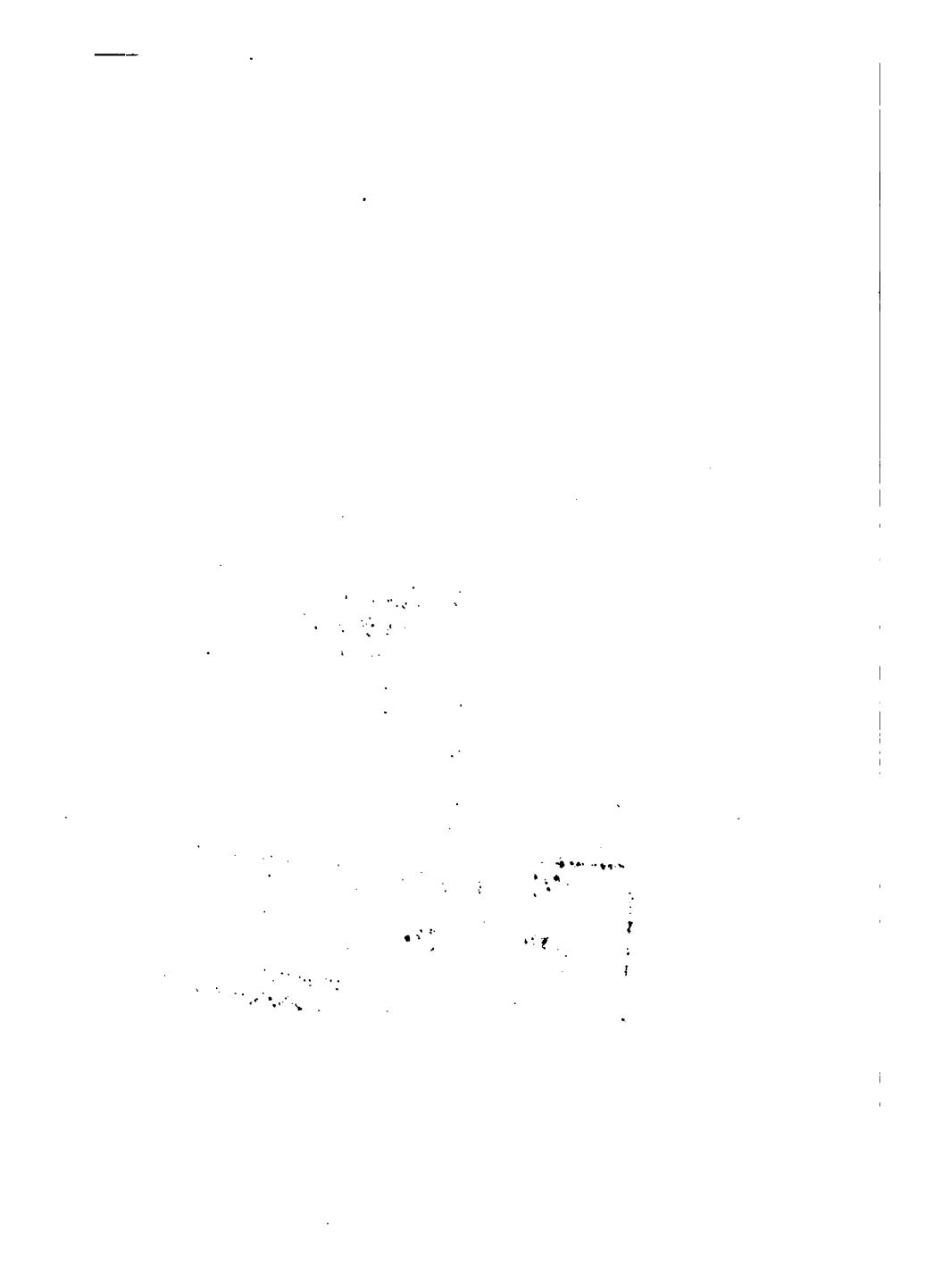
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